LIBRARY
NAVAL POSTGRADUATE SCHOOL
MONTEREY, CALIF.

T132 668

NEWSPAPER CORRESPONDENTS AND THE SIOUX INDIAN DISTURBANCES OF 1890-1891

BY

GEORGE R. KOLBENSCHLAG

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS
(Journalism)

at the
UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

1970

LIBRARY
NAVAL POSTGRADUATE
MONTEREY, CALIF. 9

APPROVED ______________________

DATE ______________________

PREFACE

The Sioux Indian disturbances in the Dakotas during the winter of 1890-1891 was the final violent attempt of the plains Indians to fight their way out of the white man's mold. Disillusioned by hunger, sickness, and the government's failure to keep its treaty promises, the Dakota Sioux were in a sullen, hostile mood that winter. When word of a new messiah, who promised a return to the old life, reached them, a new hope was born among the Sioux. The haste with which the Indians embraced the dramatic ghost dance that accompanied their new religion frightened the inexperienced agents at several of the Sioux reservations, and troops were called to put down what was considered an impending Sioux uprising.

When the army arrived--almost one-half of the cavalry and infantry forces in the United States--between 25 and 30 correspondents representing newspapers from Denver to New York were rushed to Pine Ridge Agency to cover the story.

The disturbance could hardly be called a war, but it had the elements of a good war story, and it came at a time when the newspapers were in the midst of one of their most dynamic periods of expansion and change. The number of daily newspapers in the United States quadrupled between

1870 and 1900, and their combined circulation increased almost six-fold. American towns over 8,000 population doubled in number between 1880 and 1900; at the same time the total population of the United States jumped from 11 to 20 million. Combined with the rapidly declining illiteracy rate and a rapidly expanding advertising market, these changes brought circulation drives that helped make the last two decades of the nineteenth century what Edwin Emery calls "the years of greatest ferment in the daily newspaper business."[1]

It was in the midst of this change that newsmen converged at Pine Ridge to practice their trade. Their work offers one of the few examples of "war" reporting between the earlier conflict with the Sioux in 1876 and the Spanish-American War in 1898, yet historians have largely overlooked them. Previous studies of this subject have been superficial, but historians have concluded from them that the reporters at Pine Ridge were guilty of distortion and outright fabrication.[2] Such generalities are unjust without added historical evidence. The purpose of this study is to determine who and what manner of men (and women) these reporters were in an effort to add to the knowledge of Indian war reporting, and of the evolution of field correspondents in American journalism.

The absence of even basic published information about the character of the correspondents at Pine Ridge,

and the role they played, led to the decision to make this study largely narrative in nature. Two questions were posed as a guide in its preparation:

1. Did the correspondents at Pine Ridge Agency between November 19, 1890, and January 15, 1891, present an accurate account of occurrences there?

2. What was the relationship of the environment at Pine Ridge to the correspondents' copy as published in the press?

In responding to these questions, an effort has been made to compare the newsmen's output to events as described by outside (non-media) sources. Government documents have been used to establish the standard, but there were few disinterested witnesses at Pine Ridge--government or otherwise--so whenever possible, government documents have been compared with other non-media sources, such as accounts by teachers, missionaries, and the Indians themselves.

A variety of sources were used in preparing this study. This last Sioux uprising was one of the most accessible of any of this nation's Indian disturbances. It occurred closer to the expanding population centers than most, threatened established lines of communication, involved both state and federal governments, and directly involved a great many more literate persons than previous encounters with the Indians. This accessibility combined

with the tenor of the times in journalism kept Pine Ridge on the front pages of the American press almost continually for 60 days. These contemporary accounts, in this case from the 18 newspapers and magazines known to have been represented at Pine Ridge, were the single most useful source.

The personal papers of Elmo Scott Watson, a scholar of frontier journalism and professor of journalism at Northwestern University in the 1940's, have been valuable in providing details on the correspondents who were at Pine Ridge. Included in the Watson Papers, which are located at The Newberry Library in Chicago, are portions of unpublished manuscripts by two journalists and an army officer who were participants. Watson's correspondence with persons who were at the agency during the disturbance was also useful. The major limitation of the Watson Papers is their haphazard filing, which requires exhaustive searching to find relevant data.

The best overview of events in the Dakotas that winter comes from two sources--James Mooney and Robert Utley.[3] Mooney, a government ethnologist, prepared his massive work from materials collected on visits to the Indian reservations beginning in 1891. Utley's account was published in 1963, and although less detailed, is a comprehensive narrative and includes materials not available to Mooney. The Utley book contains an excellent bibliography.

The most useful government sources were the annual reports of the Secretaries of War and Interior. The Interior reports include the report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Additionally, there are several Congressional documents listed in the bibliography that were helpful.

In an effort to avoid describing the disturbance as a "war," the collective operation of the army on the reservations from mid-November 1890, through mid-January 1891, is referred to in this study as a campaign. The term newsmen is used to describe the correspondents collectively including the two lady reporters.

Unless otherwise qualified, the presence of each of the correspondents placed at Pine Ridge has been verified by at least two primary sources, e.g., fellow newsmen, photographs, or by-lines in their media.

Two institutions have been especially cooperative and valuable sources--The Newberry Library, Chicago, and the Wisconsin State Historical Society, Madison. Special acknowledgement is made to Professor Harold Nelson for his initial direction; to Professor Douglas Jones for his valuable guidance, sincere interest, and detailed criticism of the study; to Mrs. Lloyd Renneberg for her keen eye and competent preparation of the final manuscript; to my wife, Vonnie, for her varied assistance and patience; and finally,

to Doug, George, and Peter, both for their help, and for occasionally leaving me alone.

FOOTNOTES TO PREFACE

[1] Edwin Emery, The Press and America (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1962), pp. 338-342.

[2] Elmo Scott Watson, "The Last Indian War, 1890-1891; A Study in Newspaper Jingoism," Journalism Quarterly, XX (September 1943), pp. 205-219; Oliver Knight, Following The Indian Wars (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1960), p. 311; Robert Utley, The Last Days of the Sioux Nation (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963), p. 119.

[3] James Mooney, "The Ghost Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890," Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Part II, 1892-1893 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1896); Utley, op. cit.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

PREFACE iii

Chapter

I. THE BUILDING OF A REVOLT 1

II. THE CORRESPONDENTS ARRIVE AT PINE RIDGE . . . 25

III. THE PINE RIDGE CORRESPONDENTS REPORT THE THREATENED UPRISING 52

IV. THE BATTLE OF WOUNDED KNEE 104

V. THE SIOUX NATION BOWS 129

VI. AN APPRAISAL 147

EPILOGUE 157

BIBLIOGRAPHY 166

THE CORRESPONDENTS

Albert, - , *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*[*]

Allen, Charles W., *New York Herald*

Bailey, Gilbert, *Chicago Inter-Ocean*; *Rocky Mountain News* (Denver)

Boyland, R. J., Jr., *St. Paul Pioneer-Press*

Burkholder, Alfred H., *New York Herald*

Burns, "Judge," *Chicago Times*[*]

Butler, Guy, *Duluth Tribune*

Clark, Edward B., *Chicago Tribune*

Copenharve, Charles H., *Omaha Bee*[*]

Cressey, Charles H. "Will," *Omaha Bee*

Dean, Teresa Howard, *Chicago Herald*

Harries, George H., *Washington Star*

Hawkins, Irving, *Chicago Tribune*[*]

Kelley, William F., *Nebraska* (Lincoln) *State Journal*

McDonough, John A., *New York World*

McFarland, W. J., *Omaha World-Herald*

Medary, Edgar F., *New York Herald*

Moorehead, Warren K., *Illustrated American* (New York)

---

[*] These four persons have been identified at Pine Ridge by a single source only, and the evidence is insufficient to say with any certainty that they were there. They are included only as having possibly been correspondents at Pine Ridge.

O'Brian, Edward A., The Associated Press

Remington, Frederic, _Harper's Weekly_

Robert, Dent H., _St. Louis Post-Dispatch_

Seymour, Charles G., _Chicago Herald_

Smith, Carl, _Omaha World-Herald_

Tibbles, Suzette LaFlesche (Bright Eyes), _Omaha World-Herald_; _Chicago Express_

Tibbles, Thomas H., _Omaha World-Herald_; _Chicago Express_

CHAPTER I

THE BUILDING OF A REVOLT

Readers of Omaha's daily Bee opened their newspapers November 20, 1890, and found that they were finally to receive first hand accounts of the Sioux Indian disturbance 400 miles northwest of Omaha. What they read that morning supported what the most frightening of the rumors had hinted.

Omaha Bee correspondent Charles "Will" Cressey had written his first story about the Sioux from the train enroute to Pine Ridge Indian Agency, seat of the threatened uprising.

"A telegram has just reached our train 15 miles from Rushville, Nebraska," he wrote, "that an engagement has taken place and 60 soldiers and Indians have been killed." Cressey also claimed to have quietly canvassed all of the male passengers on the train and found that nine out of ten had two guns of extra caliber.[1] It was not until the next morning that Bee readers were told by Cressey that the report was untrue, and, "The rumor was practically not worth a second thought."[2]

There were to be times in the next two months when Cressey's readers were not to have the benefit of such

resource--the buffalo. It had claimed their land, tried to alienate their children, and scoffed at their religion. To replace the buffalo, the white man had tried to teach the Sioux to farm, an occupation most plains Indians viewed with disdain. The Sioux saw the threat of civilization as near as their canvas tepees (from the Sioux word, tipi) and the government beef ration. His disillusionment with the white man's world led Red Cloud, titular head of one of the largest divisions of the Sioux, to ask one missionary, "Which God is our brother praying to now? Is it the same God whom the white man has twice deceived when he made treaties with us which he afterward broke?"[5]

The great Dakota Sioux Nation, largest of the North American Indian tribes in 1890 and today still one of the two largest, was made up of seven divisions. Of these, the Teton were by far the largest, encompassing two-thirds of the Sioux peoples.[6] Ironically, they owed the "old life" they were trying unsuccessfully to regain in 1890 to the white man they hated so much. Prior to the mid-eighteenth century, the Teton Sioux had been largely forest dwellers along the upper Mississippi, but had been forced onto the plains by the Ojibwa, who unlike the Sioux were armed with guns gained in contact with white traders.

Once in their new homeland, the Teton Sioux became undisputed masters of a vast territory extending from Minnesota to the Rocky Mountains and from North Dakota to

clear separation of fact from fiction, a circumstance that led Indian scout "Buckskin Jack" Russell to chide:

> I have tramped the Bad Lands o'er and o'er,
> And camped on Wounded Knee;
> But my heart grows faint at the warrior's paint,
> And the lurid hue of the savage Sioux,
> As they charge--in the Omaha Bee.[3]

There is no doubt that the Dakota Sioux Indians were in a nasty unsettled mood that winter of 1890-1891. The 20 or 30 newsmen who shared the reservation with them in November, December, and January were not hesitant in writing of the threat that brought nearly one-half of the entire infantry and cavalry force of the United States Army to the Sioux agencies. Comparing the news stories from Pine Ridge Reservation with the degree of threat that winter is one of the purposes of this paper. There is ample evidence that the army, a major news source at Pine Ridge, thought the threat was real. In his annual report of 1891, the army's Commanding General described the situation at Pine Ridge as "a disturbance . . . which was formidable in fact and threatened to be far more formidable than any Indian war that had occurred in many years."[4] The General's opinion was not without foundation.

The Teton Sioux

The Sioux Indians did not need the white man's education to know that the civilized world had not been good to them. It had taken their single most important

central Nebraska. Their lands were the home for millions of buffalo and thousands of horses, and the Tetons ranged freely. It was this, and not the forest life of their ancestors, that the Sioux danced and prayed for at the South Dakota reservations in 1890.

Unlike their largely agricultural eastern Sioux brethren, the Tetons were wandering buffalo hunters, living in tepees made from buffalo hides. They were, as described by ethnologist James Mooney in 1891, "in war-like character . . . probably second only to the Cheyenne, and have an air of proud superiority rather unusual with Indians."[7]

A second significant characteristic of the Dakota Indians was the dominance of religion in their life. The Sioux's dependence upon nature made them a very religion-oriented society, and the Mysterious One--Wakan Tanka--influenced all they did. Religion was also to play a significant role in their last attempt to break away from the white man, although evaluation of the exact role varies from author to author.[8]

Treaties and the Sioux

The Sioux made their first treaty with the white man in 1815, but the first agreement to have a significant effect on their way of life was not signed until 1868. In that treaty, the Teton Sioux ceded all of their territory but the present state of South Dakota west of the Missouri River, which was set aside for their "absolute and

undisturbed use and occupation." They also accepted a food and clothing allotment to augment the disappearing buffalo. Among those who signed were Sitting Bull, Red Cloud, and American Horse, three who played significant roles in the 1890-1891 disturbances.[9]

The Indians also agreed to allow access rights to the railroads, an action that brought the white hunters in numbers and the final extermination of all but a few buffalo.

It is hard to appreciate what loss of the buffalo meant to the Sioux. His dependence upon it was almost total both physically and psychologically. He dressed in and lived under buffalo skins. His diet was largely buffalo, and the horns, hoofs, and bones were used for a variety of purposes. Even buffalo droppings were used as fuel. Occupying such a significant place in his material life, the bison was naturally prominent in his spiritual life. The disappearance of the buffalo was a tragedy to the plains Indians, and the dependence upon the government beef ration that resulted was a psychological blow from which the Teton Sioux never fully recovered.

To increase the misery, gold was discovered on the Sioux reservation, in the Black Hills, and this land that had been set aside for the Sioux's "absolute and undisturbed use and occupation" was flooded with gold-seeking white men. The result was the uprising that led to

the Custer massacre and a new agreement in 1876. The Sioux lost another one-third of their land, including the Black Hills, and dissatisfaction continued to grow among the Dakota Indian bands.[10] Even prior to that agreement, the Teton's powerful medicine man, Sitting Bull, had told General Nelson Miles under a flag of truce, "God Almighty made me an Indian, and He did not make me an agency Indian, and I do not intend to be one."[11] Sitting Bull, who had become perhaps the most influential of all the Sioux leaders, died in the midst of the 1890 disturbance fighting the white man's dominance of his people.

From 1876 until 1890, George Hyde calls the Sioux history "an attempt to fight peaceful war against the whole power of the United States Government."[12]

The white population in the formerly Sioux lands increased rapidly, and in 1882, just six years after the Sioux had lost the Black Hills, an unsuccessful effort was made to cut a path through the Sioux reservation to allow more convenient communication between eastern and western Dakota. The influential Indian Rights Association campaigned in Congress and gained sufficient support for maintenance of the status quo. But, in spite of continued pressure from friends of the Indians, the government lacked tenacity in its support of the Indians, and in the late 1880's there was a renewed effort to further limit the Sioux's land.

One of the few friends the Indians had in Congress was Senator Henry L. Dawes, Republican from Massachusetts. Dawes saw the need to assure permanent land claims for the Indians, and succeeded in passing his Dawes Act of 1887. His was "an act to provide for allotment of lands in severalty to the Indians on the various reservations and to extend the protection of the laws of the United States and the territories over the Indians. . . ."[13] In December 1887, Dawes further introduced to Congress a Sioux Bill as the Sioux application of the Dawes Act. His bill called for division of the Sioux territory into six reservations, and although it meant further reduction of the Sioux reservations, it was considered by friends of the Indians to be the only alternative to complete loss of the Indians' lands.[14]

The Sioux Bill, however, in keeping with the treaty of 1867, required the signatures of at least three-quarters of the adult male Indians occupying the reservations. A commission of three was appointed and sent to the Sioux territory, but not surprisingly, the Indians refused to sign. Instead, the Indians persuaded the Interior Department to finance a trip for 61 of them to Washington to talk with President Harrison about the Sioux Bill. For once the Indians were clear--if only temporary--victors in their negotiations with the government. The chiefs graciously accepted the hospitalities of the capital and left a

generous hotel bill before--much to the chagrin of the Interior Department--the Sioux returned to the agencies, the majority firm in their refusal to sign an agreement with the government.[15]

In March 1889, a second Sioux Act was drafted, offering some concessions to the Indians, and a second three-man commission left Washington for the Sioux reservation. The key member of the new commission was General George Crook, who knew the Sioux as well as any white man in the country. The Sioux knew Crook too, for they had fought and surrendered to him in the 1870's. He possessed a great deal of prestige among the Indians, as well as a reputation for honesty and fairness.

Most of those chiefs who were camped with their people at what were soon to become Pine Ridge and Rosebud reservations refused to sign the agreement, but Crook's winning ways succeeded in convincing enough of the Sioux at the other Dakota reservations to meet the total required number of signatures.

As they traveled to the various Sioux encampments, the commissioners were repeatedly questioned whether or not acceptance of the new agreement would abrogate the provisions for rations stipulated in the earlier treaties. In good faith, Crook and his associates pointedly assured the Indians that their allotments would remain unchanged.[16] The commission had no way of knowing that Congress was

about to trim $150,000 from the annual appropriation for July 1889 through June 1890. The result was a significant reduction in the Sioux's food ration. American Horse, one of the few leaders of the Pine Ridge Indians to sign the agreement, noted bitterly a year later, "General Crook talked nice to us and after we signed the bill they took our land and cut down our allowance of food. The commission made us believe we would get full sacks if we signed the bill, but instead of that, our sacks were empty."[17] In his annual report for 1889, Secretary of the Interior John Noble wrote:

> There are no Indians within our borders that have more ability, intelligence, and shrewdness than the Sioux of Dakota. In war and peace they have shown themselves to be formidable opponents to the white man, and in the recent negotiations they met the government at every point with strong arguments and diplomacy of a high order. They yielded, however, to the logic and persuasion of the commissioners, who were indefatigable in presenting to them the favorable features for a cession.[18]

Disillusioned, Crook spent the remaining years of his life, until he died in 1890, fighting unsuccessfully to have the commission's promises to the Sioux honored by the government.

President Benjamin Harrison signed the Sioux Act February 10, 1890. It returned almost one-half of the remaining Sioux land to the public domain and established six reservations in North and South Dakota for the seven major Teton Sioux divisions.[19]

Aging Chief Red Cloud's Oglalas were located on the Pine Ridge Reservation. Adjoining Rosebud Reservation was home for the Brules and some of the Two Kettle Teton, of which 70-year old Two Strike was leader. Sitting Bull, never really a chief, but influential enough as the leading Sioux medicine man to be one of the most powerful Sioux leaders, was settled at Standing Rock Agency with his Hunkpapas and some of the Blackfeet Tetons (not to be confused with the Blackfoot, a separate tribe). Cheyenne River Reservation was the land of the Miniconjou (or Minikannzu), Sans Arcs, and the remainder of the Two Kettle and Blackfeet. The most influential leaders there were Hump and Big Foot.

The Yanktonais on the Crow Creek Reservation were Sioux, but not Tetons. They were the most docile of the Indians in the new state of South Dakota, and were well on their way to fitting the white man's mold. The Yanktonais' neighbors, the Lower Brules on the adjoining Lower Brule Reservation, were the most docile of the Tetons. Neither of these latter two bands figured prominently in the disturbances of 1890-1891.[20]

Red Cloud's 6,000 Oglalas were the wildest of the Tetons and Pine Ridge was the most remote reservation from the white settlements along the Missouri. The 4,000 Brules on the adjoining Rosebud Agency ran a close second to the Oglalas in their hostile dispositions. Combined, the two

agencies were home for 10,000 of the most war-like Indians of the plains.[21] They remain today among the proudest and most tenacious of the American Indians.

The Sioux had little breathing time before white settlers crowded onto their former lands, some encroaching on even the relatively small reservations that had been left to them. Nor were ration cuts by an economy-minded Congress long in coming. They did have to wait, however, for the money for their ceded land, and for the other promises in the treaty. In January 1890, the Secretary of the Interior submitted a draft bill to Congress to carry out the promises of the 1889 commission. The Senate passed the bill during the first session of the 51st Congress, but it had not cleared the House when the Sioux began the ghost dance in the fall of 1890.[22]

Congress still held the bill in mid-November of that year when troops arrived at Rosebud and Pine Ridge, and in early December when the so-called "hostiles" fled to the Badlands. While their food ration had been restored early in December by order of the Secretary of the Interior, the Dakotas had received none of the benefits promised by the agreement in 1889 when Big Foot's band fought the soldiers at Wounded Knee Creek the end of December, or when the remaining "hostile" Sioux surrendered to General Miles at Pine Ridge, January 15, 1891. It was not until January 19 of that year that Congress took any action on

the bill, and that was only to free funds for partial fulfillment of the agreement with the Sioux. The whole thing led Oglala Chief Big Road to remark, "When I promise to do something I do it. When the Great Father promises, he never does it. Yet they say the Indian is a bad man."[23]

The growing confusion and disappointment of the Sioux in 1890 was well summed up by the army's Commander of the Department of Dakota, Brigadier General Thomas Ruger, who wrote:

> Within a few years, comparatively, the whole manner of life and surroundings of the Sioux Indians have been changed by a violent wrench of fortune whereby the individual has been deprived of his former liberty of coming and going at will, and subjected to many irksome rules of the reservation, and has had at times, it must be admitted, cause for just complaint, and the leaders have been deprived, in great degree, of their influence and authority.[24]

Unfortunately for the Sioux, their already disillusioned life was vastly complicated by hunger, drought, and white man's politics.

Pine Ridge: 1890

There has been a great deal written about Pine Ridge Indian Agency during that fall of 1890, much of it by those involved. The tendency of a great deal of their literature is to defend, inflate, or further one or another point of view. Almost all factions agreed on some things, however--the Indians were hungry, sick, and disillusioned. The summers of 1889 and 1890 were among the most disastrous

in the history of Dakota agriculture, turning the reservations into dustbowls. Even the few crops the agents had succeeded in inducing the Tetons to plant were completely destroyed by the drought.[25] Hundreds of white settlers were driven from Nebraska and South Dakota in 1889-1890, but the Sioux had nowhere to go.

Even had the weather been suitable, the land was not. When Omaha World-Herald reporter Carl Smith called the reservations good for grazing and added, "but the farmer who could raise anything except the proverbial Hell would be a good one," he voiced the opinion of most who saw the land.[26] Commissioner of Indian Affairs Thomas Morgan wrote in his annual report in 1891, "If the Indians are expected to thrive by agriculture they should not be thrust aside onto sterile plains . . . but should be allowed to occupy such portions of the country as are adapted to agricultural pursuits."[27]

It was at this point that Congress cut the money for rations for the Sioux to their lowest since the agreement of 1877, partially because of monetary problems and partially as a result of a theory with growing advocates that if the government ration was trimmed the Indians would of necessity become more productive. The result was a 2,600,000 pound reduction in the amount of beef purchased for the Sioux in the year ending June 30, 1890.[28] It was this cutback that reduced the ration at Pine Ridge and

Rosebud agencies the following winter. It was also this cutback that caused Brigadier General John R. Brooke, Commander of the Department of the Platte and in immediate command of the troops sent to Pine Ridge in November 1890, to write to the War Department:

> In 1886 the annual authorized issue of beef /at Pine Ridge/ was 8,125,000 pounds . . . in 1889 it was 4,000,000 pounds, a reduction of 4,125,000 in three years . . . and it is known that there has been no such corresponding reduction in the number of Indians or advancement in their ability to support themselves.[29]

In January 1891, Major General Nelson Miles, commanding the Division of the Missouri, which included both Ruger's and Brooke's commands, wrote, "They /the Tetons/ also claim that they have suffered for want of food, and the evidence of this is beyond question, and sufficient to satisfy any unprejudiced, intelligent mind."[30]

But, whether intelligent in Miles' mind or not, there were those that maintained throughout the trouble that the Indians were adequately cared for by the government. Special Agent A. T. Lea, working on a census of the Sioux for the Indian Bureau, did not think the Sioux were starving:

> The Department is fully aware of the nature of my work, which takes me into each house and habitation occupied by the Indians, thus giving me a splendid opportunity to make observations, and I assure you I have not been slow to do so . . . and I say now that I have to see the first family upon Pine Ridge Agency

> that showed the least sign of suffering from want of food.[31]

The food issue was one that brought the press to life on the subject of the Sioux Indians. The _Omaha World-Herald_ editorialized:

> Census enumerator Lea says that the Indians are fully fed. He draws $15 a day from the government. A thing like that makes one feel very kindly towards the government. The truth is this: The Indians who are entitled to several million dollars from the United States . . . have been starving. They have waited and hoped in patience. They are getting restless. . . . It is the business of government to remove the cause of dissatisfaction. Bread will do more than bayonets with the Indians.[32]

Most of the press joined the _World-Herald_ editorially in the opinion that the Indians were starving, or at least hungrier than they ought to be. The _New York Herald_ wrote sarcastically:

> The half-starved, half-clothed Sioux out west have threatened an uprising. The appropriation . . . started through Congress, but has somehow got stuck on the way . . . and the red man has the audacity to complain. Shoot him, of course. He is nothing but an Indian, has no vote and therefore no friends.[33]

In a dispatch to the _Chicago Inter-Ocean_ from Pine Ridge December 1, 1890, correspondent Gilbert Bailey commented:

> It only needs an hour's visit to one of the camps to look at pinched faces and emaciated forms in order for one to make up his mind that the reports that the Indian is starving are only too true. . . . No wonder they want a messiah or war to come: They would welcome

anything or anyone that would give them more to eat.[34]

But even the press was not unanimous on the hunger issue, and at least two papers did not believe the Indians were hungry. The _Duluth Tribune_ concluded an editorial hostile to the idea that the Sioux were starving by saying, "The only thing which the Sioux of the past have not been in the habit of complaining about has been shortness of rations."[35]

Correspondent William Kelley of Lincoln's _Nebraska State Journal_ also thought the Sioux were adequately cared for, and wrote:

> There has been much talk of not enough rations among these Indians in Omaha papers. I have taken some pains to investigate the matter and find such not to be a fact. The rations given are amply sufficient for two weeks, the time of each issue.[36]

But, in spite of several dissenting viewpoints, by far the majority of the press and the officials at the agencies agreed that empty stomachs were partially responsible for Teton discontent. It was one of the few times the press and the government at Pine Ridge were largely in agreement that winter.

Added to the growing unrest at Pine Ridge was the political appointment of an inexperienced new agent, Daniel F. Royer. Royer, a physician, druggist, newspaperman, and banker of Alpina, South Dakota, arrived at Pine Ridge on October 9.[37] The Oglalas were quick to pass

judgment that was later borne out. They named Royer Lakota Kokipa-Koshkala--Young Man Afraid of His Indians.[38] Royer was to suffer greatly at the hands of newsmen in the next three months.

One of Royer's first acts when trouble threatened was an attempt to separate the friendly Sioux from the so-called hostiles at Pine Ridge. To do this, he required that the friendlies move within sight of the agency buildings. Many had to abandon their homesteads, which caused great hardships and left their properties unattended. Before the unrest was settled, 53 deserted dwellings, mostly belonging to the friendly Indians, had been burned.[39] But more significantly, the displaced Oglalas were forced to live in canvas tepees that Dakota winter. Red Cloud, who himself lived at the agency in a house built by the government, wrote a friend in Washington:

> So, my friend, you will appreciate our suffering from the cold, because I cannot allow my people to go to their comfortable homes while the government officials desire them to stay here. I am not speaking for myself, but for my people, as I live in my own house. I hope the government will not detain my people here much longer, as many of my old and very young will perish.[40]

Finally, disease had run rampant through the reservations for two years. Measles in 1889, and the grippe and whooping cough in 1890 had caused many fatalities, especially among the children, and word spread among the

Sioux that their race was perishing from the earth, victim of the white man's diseases.[41]

Lied to by the white men who controlled their destiny; hungry because of crop failures and reduced rations; plagued by disease, the Teton Sioux were discontent almost to the point of despair when word reached them from the west that the Messiah had returned to earth, and this time he was siding with the red man. It was no surprise that the least progressive among them siezed upon the "good news" and embraced the new religion with a frenzy.

The Ghost Dance

On January 1, 1889, an obscure Paiute shaman at the Walker Lake (Nevada) Reservation whose name was Wovoka, experienced a vision during an eclipse of the sun. He "went to heaven and saw God and all the people who died a long time ago."[42] When he came back from heaven he came as the messiah of the Indian race, bringing promises from God to return the Indians to the now legendary state they were in before the white men came. Ironically, Wovoka's religion stressed peace, honesty, and industry. Mooney says that it was only where chronic dissatisfaction was aggravated by recent grievances, as among the Sioux, that the movement assumed a hostile expression.[43] Wovoka also stressed the need to perform regularly a dance taught him by God. It was this dance that became the most spectacular and widely known element of the new religion.

The white man's lines of communication were such by 1889 that word of the new religion soon reached Indian tribes throughout the west. By autumn of that year, emissaries from the Sioux agencies were on their way west to find out first hand about the new messiah. Among them were Short Bull and Kicking Bear, who became the most ardent disciples of the messiah among the Tetons.[44] They returned with the word that the new messiah was preparing to return in the spring of 1891. The ground would tremble, and Indians would be lifted while the new land covered the old, pushing the white man before it back across the oceans. But meanwhile, they must dance.

There is apparently no record of when the first ghost dance was held by the Sioux. By August 1890, however, the Indians were dancing regularly near White Clay Creek on the Pine Ridge Reservation, a few miles from the agency. When Agent Gallagher tried to stop the 2,000 dancing Indians, he was stopped and turned back by armed Oglalas.[45] The dances were also in progress at the Cheyenne River Reservation in the fall of 1890, led by Short Bull and Big Foot. There was apparently no dancing at Rosebud Agency until September, when Short Bull inaugurated it at the invitation of the Brules, but it ceased shortly at the insistence of Agent Wright.[46] On October 9, Kicking Bear, also from Cheyenne River Agency, arrived at Standing Rock at the invitation of Sitting Bull and began the dance

there. By November 1890, Pine Ridge and Standing Rock were the centers of the ghost dance among the Sioux.[47]

In late November 1890, when the *Omaha Bee*'s Cressey and his fellow correspondents began arriving at Pine Ridge to practice their trade, the *Chicago Mail* commented, "At least we can say of the hair raising Sioux, that at present they furnish the liveliest nioux."[48]

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER I

[1] *Omaha Bee*, November 20, 1890, p. 1.

[2] *Omaha Bee*, November 21, 1890, p. 1.

[3] C. W. Allen, "In The West That Was" (Elmo Scott Watson Papers, *Edward A. Ayer Collection*, Newberry Library, Chicago), Chapter 21. Hereafter cited as Allen *MS*. The unpublished manuscript is undated, and the pages are not numbered. Russell's poem is also published in the *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, December 11, 1890, p. 6.

[4] United States Congress (H. R.), *Report of the Secretary of War, 1891*. House Executive Document 1, 52nd Congress, 1st Session (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1891), p. 55. Hereafter cited as *SecWar, 91*.

[5] Charles A. Eastman, *From Deep Woods to Civilization* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1917), p. 100.

[6] "United States Indian Population (1962) and Land (1963)" (United States Department of Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs; November 1963), mimeographed, pp. 5-30. The seven major divisions were the Medewacanton, Wahpacoota, Wahpeton, Sisseton, Yankton, Yanktonais, and the Teton. The first four were collectively known as the Santee Sioux. (James Mooney, "The Ghost Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890," *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Part II, 1892-1893* /Washington: Government Printing Office, 1896/, p. 1058.)

[7] Mooney, *ibid.*, p. 1059.

[8] Robert Utley, *The Last Days of the Sioux Nation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963), p. 12.

[9] Charles Kappler (ed.), *Laws and Treaties*, 2 vols. (2nd edition), Senate Document 319, 58th Congress, 2nd Session (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904), II, p. 798.

[10] Utley, *op. cit.*, pp. 23,41.

[11] Nelson A. Miles, "Future of the Indian Question," *North American Review*, 152 (January 1891), p. 3.

[12] George Hyde, *A Sioux Chronicle* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1956), p. x.

[13] *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. 24, 1887 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1887), p. 388.

[14] Sister Mary Johnston, *Federal Relations With The Great Sioux Indians of South Dakota, 1887-1933* (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1948), p. 125; Utley, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

[15] Utley, *op. cit.*, pp. 47-48.

[16] Commissioner of Indian Affairs, letter, November 29, 1890, to the Secretary of the Interior, United States Congress (H. R.), *Additional Provisions For The Sioux Indians*. House Executive Document 36, 51st Congress, 2nd Session (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1891), p. 2.

[17] Statement of American Horse to D. F. Royer, November 27, 1890, as cited by Mooney, *op. cit.*, p. 840.

[18] United States Congress (H. R.), *Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 1889*. House Executive Document 1, 51st Congress, 1st Session (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1889), p. x.

[19] Johnston, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

[20] Utley, *op. cit.*, pp. 72-83; Mooney, *op. cit.*, p. 1056.

[21] Mooney, *op. cit.*, p. 844.

[22] Commissioner of Indian Affairs, letter, undated, to The Indian Rights Association, as cited by the Indian Rights Association, *Eighth Annual Report* (Philadelphia: Indian Rights Association, 1891), p. 5.

[23] Big Road, letter, undated, to L. W. Colby, as cited by L. W. Colby, "The Sioux War of 1890-1891," *Transactions and Reports of the Nebraska State Historical Society*, 3 (1892), p. 190.

[24] *SecWar*, *91*, p. 189.

[25] Doane Robinson, *A History of the Dakota or Sioux Indians* (From collections of the South Dakota Historical Society, 1904), republished (Minneapolis: Ross and Haines, Incorporated, 1956), p. 468.

[26] *Omaha World-Herald*, November 25, 1890, p. 1.

[27] United States Congress (H. R.) *Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 1891*. House Executive Document 1, 52nd Congress, 1st Session (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1892), p. 5. Hereafter cited as *SecInt, 91*.

[28] *Ibid.*, p. 137.

[29] *SecWar, 91*, p. 136.

[30] Nelson A. Miles, "Future of the Indian Question," *North American Review*, 152 (January 1891), p. 5.

[31] A. T. Lea, letter, November 28, 1890, to the Secretary of the Interior. United States Congress (Senate), *Armament of Certain Indians*, Senate Executive Document 9, 52nd Congress, 2nd Session (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1891), pp. 42-43. Hereafter cited as Senate Document 9.

[32] *Omaha World-Herald*, December 10, 1890, p. 4.

[33] *New York Herald*, November 23, 1890, p. 18.

[34] *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, December 1, 1890, p. 1.

[35] *Duluth Tribune*, December 9, 1890, p. 4.

[36] *Nebraska* (Lincoln) *State Journal*, November 29, 1890, p. 1.

[37] Utley, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

[38] Mooney, *op. cit.*, p. 948.

[39] *Ibid.*, p. 892.

[40] As cited by Thomas A. Bland, *A Brief History of the Military Invasion of the Home of the Sioux* (Washington: National Indian Defense Association, 1891), p. 21.

[41] Bishop W. H. Hare, as cited by Mooney, *op. cit.*, p. 841.

[42] Mooney, *op. cit.*, p. 764.

[43] *Ibid.*, p. 777.

[44] Utley, *op. cit.*, pp. 61-62.

[45] United States Congress (H. R.), *Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 1890*. House Executive Document 1, 51st Congress, 2nd Session (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1890), p. 49. Hereafter cited as *SecInt, 90*. The origin of the name "ghost dance" for Wovoka's dance is obscure, but Alfred Rockefeller, Jr., an anthropologist writing in the *Westerners Brand Book*, Chicago Corral, September 1948 (p. 40), says that the dance was originally called the "spirit dance" or the "dance of the Christ," and credits the *Omaha Bee* with originating the term ghost dance in 1890. Although unconfirmed, this would be in keeping with the *Bee*'s character as evidenced in this thesis.

[46] Mooney, *op. cit.*, pp. 845-847.

[47] *Ibid.*, p. 847.

[48] *New York Herald*, November 25, 1890, p. 6.

CHAPTER II

THE CORRESPONDENTS ARRIVE AT PINE RIDGE

On November 13, 1890, President Benjamin Harrison directed Secretary of War Redfield Proctor to assume a military responsibility for suppression of any threatened outbreak on the Sioux reservations and to take any action necessary to that end. Proctor was not long in responding, and early on November 20 troops under the command of Brigadier General John R. Brooke began arriving at Pine Ridge Agency, South Dakota. Army units were ordered to adjoining Rosebud Agency about the same time.[1]

The newsmen also began arriving at Pine Ridge November 20, and by December 29, when the battle was fought at Wounded Knee, about 15 correspondents had been at the agency. Eight more arrived in January 1891, following Wounded Knee.

Together they represented about 16 daily newspapers, two magazines, and The Associated Press. At least two of the papers with reporters at Pine Ridge augmented The Associated Press with their own men's material, and one or more provided copy for United Press.

Some of the correspondents had been employed by their media long before they were sent to Pine Ridge, and

others were hired specifically to cover the threatened Indian uprising. Two were women--one an Indian woman married to another reporter. Fortunately for historians they occasionally wrote about each other in the course of almost daily dispatches to their newspapers.

Trading post proprietor James A. Finley's small three-bedroom hotel was home for most of the correspondents while at the agency. When St. Paul Pioneer Press reporter R. J. Boylan, Jr., arrived on November 24, he counted 12 newsmen at the agency, and Finley laughed at his request for a room and told him he could sleep on the floor.[2]

The newsmen called Finley's inn the Hotel de Finley, and many of them wrote of the little one-story building with its well-kept lawn and vine covered front porch where they spent chilly evenings comparing notes on the day's activities. At least one of them commented that none of his associates complained about either the quality or quantity of the food Finley served.[3]

Charles Cressey of the Omaha Bee

The Omaha Bee's Charles "Will" Cressey rode into Pine Ridge early November 20 accompanying several units of regular army troops that had been ordered to Pine Ridge from the Omaha area. He settled down at Finley's hotel and wrote his first dispatch from the agency that same day, accurately listing five companies of infantry, three troops of cavalry, and two light artillery pieces in Brooke's

command. He added:

> Every officer on the ground, especially those in high command, looks on the situation as very critical. To be more specific, it is to say that the officers consider it likely that six or eight thousand Indians may sweep down on us at any moment.[4]

Cressey was writing for an audience far larger than the *Bee*'s circulation would suggest, because his paper was an Associated Press outlet, and his story was carried by papers throughout the country, including the *St. Paul Pioneer-Press*, *New York Herald*, and *New York World*.[5] Many of Cressey's subsequent stories were also put on the wire by his editors, and the gaunt, lanky Omaha reporter probably had a larger consistent readership than any correspondent at Pine Ridge. At least 11 of the newspapers with their own correspondents at Pine Ridge continued to use Cressey's copy. In Philadelphia, the *Public Ledger* editorialized:

> The Indian war near Pine Ridge Agency has developed another war correspondent as yet unknown for fame who deserves honorable mention. He writes for the *Omaha Bee*, which has been the chief source of information regarding the movement of Indians. The *Bee* correspondent differs from more famous war chroniclers in that he simply . . . relates facts as he sees or hears them and leaves criticism to others. . . . He deserves honorable mention for keeping a cool head and sticking to facts instead of glorifying himself after the usual fashion of war correspondents.[6]

Cressey's background is obscure, but his experience must have been limited, because photographs show him to be one of the younger correspondents at Pine Ridge. He wore a drooping mustache, and the Indians called him "Man Who

Wants A Shave."[7] None of his fellow correspondents took the time to compliment him, although he was the frequent target of criticism. Charles W. Allen, who represented the New York Herald at Pine Ridge, wrote some years later:

> There was another very ambitious young man in our group, C. H. Cressey, accredited representative of the old-time Omaha Bee. This writer had a penchant for lurid, long drawn-out stories. They seemed to please his managing editor, and were a constant source of amusement to the rest of us. The /Omaha/ World-Herald man was not much about the hotel and seldom cared to join with the newshound pack. This fact probably saved Mr. Cressey much critical annoyance in his favorite pastime of grabbing thrilling rumors and converting them into something he considered a "scoop" on his rival, though to the balance of the bunch they more nearly resembled puffballs.[8]

Cressey's part in the reporting of the Indian disturbances was to prove unique for several reasons, certainly not the least of which was his prolific output and the wide use of his copy in newspapers throughout the country.

Two Local Editors Report for the New York Herald

The Herald was the first of the two New York papers represented at Pine Ridge to have its correspondent at the agency. James Gordon Bennett, Jr., called on two local editors to report for him. Late in November, Charles W. Allen, editor of the Chadron (Nebraska) Democrat, received a telegram from Bennett requesting that he report to Alfred Burkholder at Pine Ridge as a correspondent for the Herald.

Allen found a man to look after his paper and left for the Sioux reservation.[9]

Unlike some of his fellow reporters at the agency, Allen was not new to life on the reservation. He had been a mule driver on freighting trains, a soldier in a frontier regiment, a homesteader, and the manager of a blacksmith shop before he began his newspaper career. Allen provided much valuable information about the newsmen at Pine Ridge before his death in 1942.[10] On December 4, the Omaha World-Herald published a letter from Allen at Pine Ridge. Dated December 2, it is the earliest firm evidence of Allen's presence at the agency.

The tall, close-cropped ram-rod straight Alfred Burkholder was the Herald's number one man at Pine Ridge throughout the disturbance. He came from Chamberlain, South Dakota, where he edited a newspaper. Although his identity is less clear than men like Cressey, Burkholder is identified at Pine Ridge by at least two other correspondents and also appears in photographs taken at the agency.[11]

Unfortunately, the Herald failed to identify its men at Pine Ridge, but beginning November 24, stories appeared regularly datelined Pine Ridge and credited "By Telegraph to the Herald," suggesting that Burkholder was at the agency by November 23. The Herald continued to use Cressey's material, frequently including entire paragraphs

obviously lifted from the *Bee* correspondent's dispatches and interspersed with the work of their own reporters.[12]

Seymour of the Chicago Herald Arrives

At least one other correspondent arrived at Rushville November 19 on the same train with Cressey--Charles Seymour, an established reporter for the *Chicago Herald*.[13] The slight, red-haired and mustachioed Seymour is described by several of his contemporaries as a brilliant and humorous writer.[14] Unfortunately, his material prepared for the *Herald* is unavailable, since most editions of that newspaper for 1890-1891 are apparently no longer in existence. An article he wrote appears in *Harper's Weekly* and offers a graphic view of the final surrender and review at Pine Ridge January 15 and 16.[15] Seymour returned to Chicago in mid-December, but was back at the agency early in January. Pine Ridge, although one of the more remote of the Sioux agencies, was easily accessible and the correspondents were free to come and go as they liked, increasing the difficulty of locating them at any specific time.[16]

Carl Smith, Thomas Tibbles, and Bright Eyes of the World-Herald

Carl Smith, representing the *Omaha Bee's* prime competition--the *Omaha World-Herald*--arrived at Pine Ridge about the same time as Cressey. He remained until ordered off the reservation by Agent Royer early in December, after

sending his paper a series of articles extremely critical of government policies there. A practiced telegraph operator, Smith has also been accused of basing some of his material on government dispatches deciphered while lingering near the telegraph office at the agency.[17]

Smith's attacks on Agent Royer were particularly hostile, and on November 30 he wrote, "To hold his job, Mr. Royer may succeed in aggravating these Indians into some sort of warlike demonstration, but they will be fighting against their will."[18] Three days later correspondent William Kelley of the Nebraska State Journal could refer to Smith as "the young man who did represent the World-Herald but left by request."[19]

Allen, who claimed Smith as a close friend, wrote:

> We usually were in agreement on current affairs, though we differed . . . in his penchant for meddling critically in agency affairs. I admired his spunk, but challenged his judgment on the ground that he was supposed to report on the possible trouble that was likely to occur between the Indians and the military authorities . . . and that he was not an authorized Indian agency inspector. He was a bright, promising young man.[20]

It was about one week after Smith left the agency that the Omaha World-Herald wrote in an editorial:

> The World-Herald has undertaken the task of interviewing the Sioux Indians on the subject of their treatment by the government and the real causes of the Indian troubles. For this purpose it has secured the services of "Bright Eyes," the celebrated Indian woman, and Mr. T. H. Tibbles, her husband, who is the well-known champion of the Indian cause.[21]

Tibbles started in the newspaper business as a reporter in Missouri during the Civil War, and first worked for the World-Herald in 1876 as both a reporter and an editorial writer. In 1879 he left on a lecture tour and successfully championed the cause of a group of Ponca Indians who were being threatened with displacement by the government. In 1882, he married Suzette La Flesche--Bright Eyes--the daughter of Iron Eyes, at one time one of the principal chiefs of the Omahas. Bright Eyes also became a successful lecturer and author. Tibbles was again with the World-Herald as chief editorial writer when Smith was sent home from Pine Ridge.

Although the Tibbles also wrote for the Chicago Express while at Pine Ridge, their primary employer remained the World-Herald.[22]

Tibbles and his wife chose not to seek a room in Finley's small hotel and, instead, accepted the hospitality of an Indian family where Tibbles said they could hear facts instead of fiction.[23] Like their predecessor, Smith, the Tibbles were extremely critical of events at Pine Ridge. Both continued the criticism of government officials, and although their tenacity was somewhat greater than Smith's, they too left the agency before the conclusion of the campaign. There is no clear evidence whether their departure was voluntary or forced. Ironically, they left on the same train as Agent Royer's wife, whose husband had been

asked to relinquish his post--a move *World-Herald* correspondents and editorial writers had been urging since November. Mrs. Royer accused the Tibbles of grossly misrepresenting the situation at Pine Ridge.[24]

The Tibbles also frequently criticized their peers--Bright Eyes calling them liars who wrote about fights that never occurred.[25] Her husband accused his competition of hanging around the hotel day after day dispatching "new inflammatory stories made out of whole cloth."[26] The only principals in the disturbance at Pine Ridge to escape the couple's criticism were the Indians.

In spite of their frequent unfaverable comments toward the other reporters, Allen liked them, and wrote, "Mr. Tibbles was a pleasant affable gentleman and an all-around newspaperman, and I had the benefit and pleasure of numerous visits with him and his wife."[27]

R. J. Boylan, *St. Paul Pioneer-Press*

Colonel Guy V. Henry, commanding the Ninth Cavalry, was seated at his desk at Fort McKinney, Wyoming, on November 19, 1890, when an orderly brought him a message from his department commander. It read:

> Move out as soon as possible with the troop of cavalry at your post; bring all of the wagon transportation you can spare, pack mules and saddles; extra ammunition and rations will be provided when you reach the railroad.

Arriving at the depot, Henry found that his destination was to be Pine Ridge, South Dakota.[28] When Henry and his men reached Rushville several days later, newsman R. J. Boylan sought the commander and asked if he could join the cavalry for the 25-mile ride to Pine Ridge. Henry welcomed him, and they arrived at the agency November 24. That evening Boylan wrote his first dispatch for his paper, the St. Paul Pioneer-Press.

"The officers and men at Pine Ridge," he wrote, "are very much annoyed by some sensational press reports that have been published. . . . They consider the situation to be critical enough in reality without resorting to exaggeration."[29]

Signed articles by Boylan appeared in the Pioneer-Press regularly from November 25 until December 1. The last two articles signed by Boylan appeared December 7 and 10, but both dealt with subjects that could have occurred prior to December 1. Unidentified dispatches that may have been Boylan's continued to appear until toward the end of December, which coincides with a statement by Allen that Boylan remained at Pine Ridge until the day before the Wounded Knee fight, when he was recalled to St. Paul by his editor.[30]

Professor Bailey of the Chicago Inter-Ocean

When cattleman and old-time Indian scout James Cook first met Gilbert Bailey, about 1885, Bailey was the

government geologist for the territory of Wyoming. Both were also at Pine Ridge in 1890-1891--Cook because of his intense interest in the Indians (as well as a desire not to miss the smell of gunpowder) and Bailey as correspondent for the Chicago Inter-Ocean and Denver's Rocky Mountain News.[31]

The other correspondents called him Professor Bailey, and he was probably the best educated among them. He had completed his Ph.D. in 1881 and served as professor of chemistry at the University of Nebraska and professor of metalurgy at the South Dakota School of Mines prior to arriving at Pine Ridge shortly after the troops. He remained at the agency until mid-January, when he returned to his first profession--geology--where he became well enough known to be listed in Who's Who in America in 1924.[32]

Bailey was a large, well-proportioned man, with greying sideburns and a full beard. His dispatches were among the most lucid and best written to come from Pine Ridge, and they provide a great deal of insight into life at the agency. While others spent uneventful days--which turned out to be many--reworking old stories, Bailey sent his editors imaginative feature material about the Sioux and Pine Ridge. On December 27, he wrote, "The Indians have their own peculiar methods of estimating time. For them, years are not so many revolutions of the Earth around

the Sun, but so many winters, to be remembered for their cold and suffering. Days are not so many sunrises, but sleeps."[33]

Bailey was more mature than most of his newsman associates, and like the Tibbles, showed a continued concern for the well-being of the Sioux. On Christmas day he wired the Inter-Ocean:

> The only sensible way to treat the Indian is to treat him as a human being. . . . The Indians have many causes for grievances. They are not wholly to blame. Crush out this rebellion and then treat them with true justice in things little as well as big.[34]

William Kelley and the Nebraska State Journal

William Fitch Kelley from Cincinnati was visiting friends in Lincoln, Nebraska, when an associate of his father persuaded him to go to work in the business office of the Nebraska State Journal. When trouble threatened in South Dakota shortly after he arrived in Lincoln, Kelley asked managing editor James Mahoney to send him to Pine Ridge as a reporter. Mahoney agreed, gave Kelley credentials as a "general correspondent," and Kelley left for the Sioux reservation.[35]

One of the few clean-shaven reporters at Pine Ridge, the six-foot tall Kelley was younger than most of his associates at the agency, and probably the least experienced in journalism. His potential audience was great, however, because the State Journal was the United

Press outlet for most news about the Indian disturbances.

In one of his earliest stories, Kelley wrote, "Mr. Agee, a post trader, informed me that Wounded Knee, the chief of the ghost dancers, was here secretly yesterday." Although Kelley added that the information was doubtful, he apparently missed the point that Wounded Knee was a creek and not an Indian.[36] Kelley was to retain this carelessness through the battle of Wounded Knee, where he was one of three correspondents to witness the destruction of Big Foot's band.

The St. Louis Globe-Democrat

By December 1, original material from Pine Ridge was appearing regularly in the St. Louis Globe-Democrat, although that paper failed to identify the author(s). Elmo Scott Watson lists a man named Albert as the Globe's reporter, apparently based on a letter from Edward B. Clark, correspondent for the Chicago Tribune, who arrived at the reservation in January. Clark did not remember Albert's first name, but recalled that his name "was pronounced 'Albare' as the 'Albert' was a French name."[37] A newsman working for the Globe at the time recalled no one named Albert, nor did he remember that his paper had a man at Pine Ridge. He did recall, however, that the Globe had employed a reporter for many years named Aubert, also pronounced the French way. The evidence remains insufficient to say with certainty who represented the

Globe-Democrat at Pine Ridge, but whoever he was, he appears to have been less excited by what he saw than some of his contemporaries. On November 30, he wrote:

> /The Indians/ have ransacked several cabins and probably do not care to come to the agency for fear of arrest, but the majority of the 2,000 people, including all of the chiefs, declare that they want peace and will come here if they can get any assurance that they will not be killed. . . . It is safe to say that unless goaded into war there is no more fight in the Sioux here at Pine Ridge than in the Senecas of New York.[38]

The Chicago Tribune

The *Chicago Tribune* was also represented at Pine Ridge the winter of 1890-1891. The arrival of Edward B. Clark in January can be documented but the source of the *Tribune*'s dispatches from the agency prior to Clark's arrival is obscure.[39]

On November 20, unsigned stories datelined Pine Ridge and credited "From the *Tribune*'s Special Correspondent" began appearing regularly, although the *Tribune* continued to rely occasionally on Cressey's material. In his first dispatch from the agency, the *Tribune* correspondent wrote:

> The dancing Indians have the agency and the surrounding country in a state of terror. . . . This morning a large band of Indians left Rosebud Agency headed this way. It is within the bounds of possibility that the dancing Indians may consolidate their forces at Wounded Knee, and in that case a fight may be expected at any moment.[40]

The Associated Press Sends Its Own Correspondent

The Associated Press sent its own correspondent to Pine Ridge--E. A. O'Brian--but since it was not customary to identify the wire services as a source, it has been impossible to separate O'Brian's copy from the many other sources.[41] Although they mentioned him occasionally, O'Brian's contemporaries failed to say much about him. The contributions of the young Associated Press man with his droopy mustache and flat-crowned hat will probably remain forever obscure. Undoubtedly many of the innumerable unidentified stories from Pine Ridge that appeared in newspapers across the country were from the dispatches of young E. A. O'Brian.

Harper's Weekly Sends Frederic Remington

Frontier artist and writer Frederic Remington has also been identified at Pine Ridge that winter. Captain Marion P. Maus wrote on December 6, "While accompanying Major General Nelson A. Miles and the Northern Cheyenne Commission /in mid-November/ to the various agencies in the northwest, Mr. Frederic Remington and I took occasion to visit the scene of the ghost dance on a plain near the White River on the Pine Ridge Agency in South Dakota."[42]

Remington, employed by *Harper's Weekly*, wrote December 6, "I realize that before this matter is printed, the biggest Indian war since 1758 will be in progress, or

that the display of military force will have accomplished its object and the trouble gone."[43] Remington left the Dakotas briefly early in December, but was back to cover the disturbance for his magazine about two weeks later.

An Unidentified New York World Correspondent

On December 12, the *New York World* announced that their special correspondent was accompanying an expedition of cavalry in the Cheyenne River area a few miles northwest of the Pine Ridge Reservation. Although he remained unidentified, he is included in the Pine Ridge press corps, because following the Wounded Knee encounter, he moved with Colonel Eugene A. Carr and his Sixth Cavalry to a camp near the battle site and continued to send his dispatches to the *World*.[44] He obviously thought that the cavalry unit he was accompanying was the place to be, because on December 14 he wrote:

> All news from Pine Ridge Agency for a week past has been to the effect that there would be no war. . . . So far as depending on the dispatches from Pine Ridge, or any other Indian agency is concerned, the idea is simply absurd. The Sioux will go to war in Jerico before they do at Pine Ridge Agency . . . Rapid City or Deadwood are more likely to be attacked than Pine Ridge. It is not there, but here, that there will be trouble.[45]

The Chicago Times and Judge Burns

In his first dispatch to the *Bee* on arriving at Rushville November 19, Cressey commented that a correspondent from the *Chicago Times* had arrived on the same train. Based on a comment by Allen, Watson lists the *Times*

man as Judge Burns from Deadwood, South Dakota. Although there is ample evidence that Burns was at Pine Ridge during much of the disturbance, and Allen has proved a credible source, there is also reason to question Burns's affiliation with the Times.[46] For example, Deadwood lies northwest of the agency, and Omaha southeast. It is unlikely that Burns and Cressey would have arrived on the same train. Additionally, several newspapers published a dispatch December 2 announcing the arrival of Judge Burns of Deadwood at the agency the day before.[47] Finally, while the Times did carry several articles from Pine Ridge credited as "specials," they did not mention their correspondent, and carried far less Indian news than any other newspapers with correspondents at Pine Ridge. So, the evidence is unclear, but it cannot be said without doubt that Judge Burns represented the Chicago Times. If he did, he apparently either wrote sparingly, or much of his material was unacceptable to his editors, because the Chicago Times paid much less attention to the Dakotas than most of its competition.[48]

A Second Bee Correspondent

The Omaha Bee apparently had a second man on the Indian reservations during the threatened uprising of the Sioux. There are several periods when that newspaper carried stories credited to Bee correspondents with the same dates from different physical locations. Both in

mid-December and just before the Wounded Knee battle, the Bee published stories datelined from the field in remote parts of the Dakotas while at the same time carrying stories by Cressey datelined Pine Ridge. The second Bee man was probably Charles H. Copenharve, who before going to Pine Ridge was employed in the Bee's print shop. In a letter written in 1945, Mrs. I. J. Copenharve identifies her brother-in-law, Charles H. Copenharve, as a Bee reporter at Pine Ridge. Copenharve is unmentioned by any of the other newsmen at the agency, although Watson credits him as a Bee correspondent apparently based on the above evidence.[49]

The Criticism Begins

With the arrival of the correspondents at Pine Ridge came the almost inevitable criticism of their performance. Senator Henry Dawes commented that he sometimes thought there were more newsmen at Pine Ridge than troops, and that the correspondents had been perverting the public's minds on the situation there.[50] He was joined in his criticism by South Dakota Senator Richard Pettigrew, who accused the newsmen of seeing "an outbreak in every breeze, a bloody encounter in every rustling bough." Pettigrew added that the correspondents were sending columns of gore to any paper that would buy them, and then contradicting themselves the next day to assure continued interest in their dispatches.[51] The General Manager of the

Northern Pacific Railroad, William McNellan, wrote the Associated Press that the newsmen at the Sioux agencies were doing a great injustice to the northwest.[52] The agency doctor at Pine Ridge, Dr. Charles Eastman, a full-blooded Santee Sioux just out of medical school at Boston University, said that the newsmen were writing much "news" that had never happened.[53]

Even the newsmen themselves frequently criticized their fellows. Shortly after he arrived, Gilbert Bailey told Inter-Ocean readers:

> There are now at Pine Ridge a host of newspaper correspondents each eager for a scoop, and for lack of reports of bloody combats they explore the tepees of the enemy, stand him up against his wagon, and photograph him with the usual injunctions to "look this way, please," and "smile now."[54]

The World-Herald's Smith wrote:

> There is a possibility of a dual here. One of the officers asked me in earnest last night if I supposed one of the correspondents whose lurid stories have appeared in a more flaming daily would accept a challenge. The military man said that he had a wife and family at Fort Robinson, and if he was sure they were frightened over these stories he would challenge the fellow.[55]

Tibbles wrote that he hoped his fellow reporters would discontinue their sensational dispatches "about 5,000 per cent."[56]

The correspondents were quick to attack their competitors, and equally quick to defend themselves.

Almost all of them at one time or another vouched for their own integrity in reporting events from the scene of the threat. Tibbles wrote, "I have done my best to find out the truth. I do not believe that there is a respectable white citizen or army officer here but will say that the above statement is the truth."[57]

Bailey told his readers, "I have tried to avoid sending to the Inter-Ocean any reports that were not well substantiated by the authorities or that did not come from reliable and trustworthy sources."[58]

The Omaha Bee's Cressey wrote, "To my certain knowledge the Bee has made life-long friends among settlers for hundreds of miles around this locality by giving the naked truth regarding the situation and by being honest enough to continue to do so."[59]

Many of the newspapers attacked editorially all of the correspondents at Pine Ridge but their own. The Omaha World-Herald editorialized:

> It's rather dull in the Indian scare department now. Probably the war correspondents are taking a furlough for the purpose of studying "Red Rover the Scalp Fiend," "Tomahawk Big Arm," or "Warning Warhoop," and similar choice bits of literature, extracts from which they will use in their next telegrams.[60]

The editorial, printed December 9, came at a time when the World-Herald had no correspondent at Pine Ridge, and may have been written by chief editorial writer Tibbles

before he and Bright Eyes left for the agency.

Regardless of the contradictions in testimony, most historians have taken a critical view of the performance of the Pine Ridge press gang, and as a result those newsmen have been left with a reputation for distortion, bias, and even outright fabrication.[61] Such serious accusations justify a closer examination of the reporters and their work, and the circumstances that surrounded it.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER II

[1] SecInt, 91, p. 128.

[2] St. Paul Pioneer-Press, December 10, 1890, p. 1.

[3] Allen MS, Chapter 21.

[4] Omaha Bee, November 21, 1890, p. 1.

[5] Omaha Bee, November 21, 1890, p. 1; New York World, November 22, 1890, p. 1; New York Herald, November 21, 1890, p. 3; St. Paul Pioneer-Press, November 22, 1890, p. 1.

[6] Philadelphia Public Ledger, January 5, 1891, p. 4.

[7] Several excellent photographs of the correspondents at Pine Ridge are contained in the Elmo Scott Watson Papers, Edward A. Ayer Collection, Newberry Library, Chicago. Hereafter cited as Watson Papers. One of these is also contained in Publisher's Auxiliary (Chicago), May 29, 1943, p. 2; and another in James H. Cook, Fifty Years on the Old Frontier (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1957), p. 199. Although the photographer is not known, many of the photographs are from William Kelley's personal collection, suggesting that he may have taken them. Carl Smith reveals Cressey's Indian name in his dispatch in the Omaha World-Herald, November 25, 1890, p. 1.

[8] Allen MS, Chapter 22. In a letter to Watson, February 10, 1942, Allen confirmed his evaluation of Cressey. He wrote, "Cressey was the only one of the accredited correspondents who were employed on a special paper who seemed to have authority to inflate his articles as he chose. The management of the old Omaha Bee at that time did not mind ballooning it if it helped sell their papers." (Watson Papers.)

[9] Charles W. Allen, letter, March 9, 1941, to Elmo Scott Watson, Watson Papers. Allen dates his arrival at Pine Ridge in October, which is unlikely. He refers to a "congenial bunch of Army officers, reporters, and visiting friends" at the agency when he arrived. Since there was no large influx of either Army officers or reporters until near the end of November, his reference to an October arrival is anachronous. Allen MS, Chapter 21.

[10] Addison E. Sheldon, "Major Charles W. Allen," Nebraska History, 22 (January-March 1941), p. 77.

[11] York Sampson, letter, July 9, 1941, to Elmo Scott Watson, Watson Papers; Edgar F. Medary, "A Retrospect," Publisher's Auxiliary, May 29, 1943, p. 2; Allen also mentions Burkholder frequently in his manuscript, "In The West That Was," contained in the Watson Papers.

[12] For examples of this, see the New York Herald, November 24, 1890, p. 3, and December 7, p. 3. As added evidence that the material credited "By Telegraph to the Herald" is from the Herald's own reporters, none of the copy known to be from other sources, such as Cressey's, is so credited. The first two pages of the Herald were usually entirely advertisements, so page 3 was the lead news page.

[13] Omaha Bee, November 20, 1890, p. 1, and January 7, 1891, p. 1.

[14] Lincoln MacMillan, letter, November 3, 1937, to Elmo Scott Watson, Watson Papers; Edward B. Clark, letter, October 28, 1937, to Elmo Scott Watson, Watson Papers.

[15] Charles G. Seymour, "The Sioux Rebellion, The Final Review," Harper's Weekly, 35 (February 7, 1891), p. 106. The Chicago Historical Society has been unable to locate pertinent issues of the Herald in either their own collections or elsewhere.

[16] A second Herald correspondent, Sam T. Clover, has been identified at Standing Rock Agency late in November or early in December. While it is possible that Clover joined Seymour at some time, there is no evidence to support Clover's presence at Pine Ridge. See John M. Carrigan, letter, undated, to Indian Bureau, as cited by Stanley Vestal, New Sources of Indian History (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1934), p. 1; Edward B. Clark, letter, September 13, 1939, to Elmo Scott Watson, Watson Papers.

[17] Washington Star, February 9, 1891, p. 6; Chicago Record, September 9, 1898, p. 4. This is also supported by Bruce Baldwin, a former employee of the World-Herald, in an undated article in the Dubuque (Iowa) Telegraph-Herald contained in the Edgar Medary file, Watson Papers.

[18] Omaha World-Herald, December 1, 1890, p. 1.

[19] Nebraska State Journal, December 4, 1890, p. 1.

[20] Charles W. Allen, letter, February 10, 1942, to Elmo Scott Watson, Watson Papers.

[21] Omaha World-Herald, December 10, 1890, p. 4.

[22] The background material on Tibbles was compiled from the following sources: Herbert Welsh, The Indian Question, Past and Present, Indian Rights Association, Pamphlet (Washington: Indian Rights Association, 1890); Thomas H. Tibbles, Buckskin and Blanket Days (Garden City: Doubleday and Company, 1957); and Chester Harris, letter, February 21, 1942, to Elmo Scott Watson, Watson Papers.

[23] Tibbles, op. cit., p. 301.

[24] Omaha Bee, January 13, 1891, p. 1. Mrs. Royer added that it was the Indians who had forced the Tibbles to leave because of anger at their statements. But, in a statement that contradicts Mrs. Royer's contention, Teresa Dean, lady correspondent who arrived at the agency in mid-January representing the Chicago Herald, wrote: "Bright Eyes and her husband, Mr. Tibbles, who have been writing such pleading letters about the wrongs to the Indians, have been ordered to leave the agency. The white people decided there might be two sides to the story and refused to allow them to stay there any longer." (Herald, January 16, 1891, p. 3.) Although Mrs. Dean is a questionable source in view of other statements she made about the agency, other evidence suggests that it was probably the white citizens and not the Indians who were happy to see the Tibbles leave, regardless of the reason for their departure.

[25] Omaha World-Herald, December 16, 1890, p. 5.

[26] Tibbles, op. cit., p. 301.

[27] Charles W. Allen, letter, February 10, 1942, to Elmo Scott Watson, Watson Papers.

[28] Guy V. Henry, "A Sioux Indian Episode," Harper's Weekly, 40 (December 26, 1896), p. 1273.

[29] St. Paul Pioneer-Press, November 25, 1890, p. 1. At least one of Boylan's lengthy articles, this one illustrated with sketches obviously made from some of the same photos that are in the Watson Papers, also appeared in the Chicago Times (December 14, 1890, p. 11).

[30] Allen MS, Chapter 24.

[31] James H. Cook, letter, January 14, 1942, to Elmo Scott Watson, Watson Papers.

[32] Albert N. Marquis, *Who's Who in America*, Vol. 13 (1924-1925) (Chicago: A. N. Marquis and Company, 1924), p. 277.

[33] *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, December 28, 1890, p. 1.

[34] *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, December 26, 1890, p. 2.

[35] Elmo Scott Watson, letter, September 19, 1941, to Oliver Gramling, Watson Papers. The letter from Mahoney to Kelley designating him a general correspondent is contained in the William Kelley file in the Watson Papers.

[36] *Nebraska State Journal*, November 26, 1890, p. 1.

[37] Edward B. Clark, letter, September 13, 1939, to Elmo Scott Watson, Watson Papers.

[38] *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, December 1, 1890, p. 1.

[39] Watson lists Irving Hawkins as representing the *Tribune* at the agency, but the only indication of Hawkins' presence found is a brief mention by Allen of "Hawkins of the *Chicago Tribune*," as the author of a poem. Allen *MS.* Chapter 22. With no corroborative evidence, Hawkins cannot authoritatively be said to have represented the *Tribune* at Pine Ridge.

[40] *Chicago Tribune*, November 20, 1890, p. 1.

[41] O'Brian is identified by several sources, including Edward B. Clark in a letter to Elmo Scott Watson, September 13, 1939, Watson Papers; and James H. Cook, *op. cit.*, p. 199.

[42] Marion P. Maus, "The New Indian Messiah," *Harper's Weekly*, 34 (December 6, 1890), p. 947.

[43] Frederic Remington, "The Art of War and Newspapermen," *Harper's Weekly*, 34 (December 6, 1890), p. 947.

[44] Whoever he was, by January he was apparently known to the Colonel, because on January 3, the *World* reporter wrote that he had been introduced to Miles by Colonel Carr, and on January 14, Carr named him one of six "commissioners" to form a board to hear property damage claims against the command. Although the six commissioners were named--John Hart, Morris Keliher, Oliver Germain, R. B. Ruggles, Gus Craven, and Sam McCormick--and the *World* reporter was named chairman of the quasi-official group, there is no indication which of the six named men was the

New York paper's correspondent. New York World, January 7, 1891, p. 1, and January 15, p. 1.

[45] New York World, December 15, 1890, p. 1.

[46] Omaha Bee, November 20, 1890, p. 1; Allen briefly mentions Burns in his MS, Chapter 22; Warren K. Moorehead also mentions Burns briefly in an article in the Illustrated American, January 24, 1891, p. 391, but identifies him only as Judge Burns from Deadwood. Watson credits Burns with the Times in his article, "The Last Indian War, 1890-91--a Study of Newspaper Jingoism," Journalism Quarterly, 20 (September 1943), p. 210. Hereafter cited as Watson, "Jingoism." Utley identifies "Deadwood lawyer John H. Burns," which is probably the Judge Burns referred to (op. cit., p. 266).

[47] Omaha Bee, December 2, 1890, p. 1; Duluth Tribune, December 2, 1890, p. 1; Chicago Tribune, December 2, 1890, p. 1; New York Herald, December 2, 1890, p. 3.

[48] In several instances, Watson bases the presence of correspondents at Pine Ridge on rather weak evidence. It is also obvious in some cases that he failed to use contemporary newspapers to support his evidence. For example, he identifies the Pioneer-Press correspondent only as "a reporter . . . named Boylan." (Watson, "Jingoism," p. 209.) Actually, Boylan's material is clearly initialed "R. J. B." in most instances during the later days of November, and on several occasions is signed R. J. Boylan, Jr., in the Pioneer-Press and in one instance in the Chicago Times. Watson also fails to mention W. J. McFarland, who is plainly credited in the Omaha World-Herald beginning early in January. Even a cursory look at the Chicago Times should have raised serious doubts about Burns's affiliation with that newspaper.

[49] Mrs. I. J. Copenharve, letter, February 22, 1945, to Elmo Scott Watson, Watson Papers; Watson, "Jingoism," p. 209. Copenharve's presence at Pine Ridge could be a source of confusion in identity with Cressey, since their initials--C. H. C.--are the same. Until late December, when the Bee began using Cressey's full name with his copy, most of the articles were merely initialed "C. H. C." Because Cressey is frequently mentioned by other newsmen as the Bee's man, and Copenharve goes unmentioned by the other reporters, it appears likely that all articles in the Bee initialed "C. H. C." were Cressey's, an assumption used in this study. This is supported by Cressey's unique style, which is not difficult to identify.

[50] *Washington Star*, December 4, 1890, p. 1; *Chicago Times*, December 5, 1890, p. 2.

[51] *Washington Star*, December 28, 1890, p. 1.

[52] *Washington Star*, December 28, 1890, p. 7.

[53] Eastman, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

[54] *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, November 30, 1890, p. 9. There are photographs of both Cressey and Kelley in mock combat with Indians contained in the Watson Papers.

[55] *Omaha World-Herald*, November 26, 1890, p. 1.

[56] *Omaha World-Herald*, December 19, 1890, p. 1.

[57] *Omaha World-Herald*, December 26, 1890, p. 8.

[58] *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, December 3, 1890, p. 2.

[59] *Omaha Bee*, November 28, 1890, p. 1.

[60] *Omaha World-Herald*, December 9, 1890, p. 4.

[61] Watson, "Jingoism," p. 205; Utley, *op. cit.*, p. 119; Oliver Knight, *Following the Indian Wars* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1960), p. 311.

CHAPTER III

THE PINE RIDGE CORRESPONDENTS REPORT THE THREATENED UPRISING

To properly evaluate the performance of the correspondents at Pine Ridge, their output must be viewed in the context of the agency. The criteria should not be what eventually happened, but rather what the environment at the time they wrote their dispatches led them to believe had occurred or reasonably might occur. The view from the reservation was not only different than from Washington, but it was different in November than in February.

Dr. Valentine T. McGillycuddy had been agent at Pine Ridge Agency from 1879 until 1886, and probably knew the nature of the Oglala Sioux as well as anyone. Speaking in mid-January 1891, he said, "Up to this date [January 15] there has been neither a Sioux outbreak nor war."[1] He spoke the truth. During the entire campaign--from November 20, 1890, when the troops first arrived in force, until the last of the recalcitrant Indians returned to Pine Ridge January 15, 1891--there was no property destroyed by the Sioux off the reservation, and the only white non-combatant killed was a herder shot by Indians early in January a few miles from the agency.

In December 1891, Commanding General of the Army John M. Schofield told the Congress in his annual report:

> A careful consideration of all circumstances of this uprising among the Sioux seems to justify the opinion that no considerable number of them had seriously intended to engage in hostilities against the United States unless driven to such a course by unbearable hardship or in self-defense against military operations.[2]

Schofield's statement was also accurate, but like McGillycuddy, he spoke with the benefit of hindsight. What they said when the threat was largely past is not pertinent to the attitude at Pine Ridge November 22, when Special Indian Agent James Cooper wired the Commissioner of Indian Affairs:

> Disaffected Indians assuming a hostile attitude; different bands consolidating; they declare their intention to fight; they denounce all appeals and persuasion from the Department. Serious trouble seems inevitable.[3]

Nor did Major General Nelson A. Miles, commander of the Division of the Missouri--which included the Sioux agencies--take the Sioux threat lightly in November 1890. After a personal inspection of the South Dakota reservations, he reported to the Adjutant General of the Army:

> There has never been a time when the Indians were as well armed and equipped for war as at present, and in my experience there has never been a time when the equipment of the troops for war was, in comparison to that of the Indians, as limited as at present. It would not be so strange if the Indians, who have

> contended for every foot of ground from the Atlantic to the Pacific in more than 200 years of warfare, should make one final desperate effort in the death struggle of their race.[4]

The Ghost Dance--Threat or Revival?

The ghost dance was probably the most obvious visual manifestation of an impending Indian war to those on the reservations. Dr. Eastman agreed with most others who looked back on the dance when he wrote some years later that in itself the dance was no threat, but rather the dancing Indians could be compared to the followers of revivalists like Billy Sunday. The Sioux doctor added that the ghost dance represented his people grasping blindly after spiritual help that the encroaching white man's civilization had failed to provide.[5]

Even the once hostile Indians, when again under control of their agents, claimed that they had no intention of going to war. Two Strike, labeled as one of the principal leaders of the antagonists in November and December, said in January:

> We have been suffering for food and other things, which the government promised to give us for our lands. . . . We had come to fear that the government would let our wives and children starve, for rations were getting less all the time. Last spring we heard of a great medicine man . . . who had been sent from the great spirit to help the Indians. . . . Some of us believed this good news and we began to hold meetings. . . . We did not think that we were doing any harm. . . . We had no thought of going on the war path.[6]

> [illegible] [illegible] that of [illegible] from the Colonists to the Indians in more than 200 years of warfare, finally made their final desperate effort in the death struggle of their race.[4]

The Ghost Dance: Threat or Revival?

The ghost dance was probably the most [illegible] visual manifestation of an impending Indian war to those on the reservations. Dr. Eastman agreed with most others who looked back on the dance when he wrote some years later that in itself the dance was no threat, but rather the dancing Indians could be compared to the followers of revivalists like Billy Sunday. The Sioux doctor added that the ghost dance represented his people groping blindly after spiritual help that the surrounding white man's civilization had failed to provide.[5]

Even the once hostile Indians, when again under control of their agents, claimed that they had no intention of going to war. Two Strike, labeled as one of the principal leaders of the insurgents in November and December, said in January:

> We have been suffering for food and other things, which the government promised to give us for our lands. . . . We had come to fear that the government would let our wives and children starve, for rations were getting less all the time. Last spring we heard of a great medicine man . . . who had been sent from the Great Spirit to help the Indians. . . . Some of us believed this good news and we began to hold meetings. . . . We did not think that we were doing any harm. . . . We had no thought of going on the war path.

But if Two Strike and the other hostile chiefs had no thought of going on the war path in November and December, they failed to communicate their peaceful intentions to the government officials involved at the time. A brief summary of correspondence from the agents on the Sioux reservations to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs transmitted from early October until the troops arrived in November serves to introduce the environment the newsmen faced when they reached Pine Ridge Agency.

October 11, Cheyenne River Agent P. P. Palmer:

> Sir, I have the honor to report that a number of Indians living along the Cheyenne River and known as Big Foot's band, are becoming very much excited about the coming of a messiah.[7]

October 12, Pine Ridge Agent Daniel F. Royer:

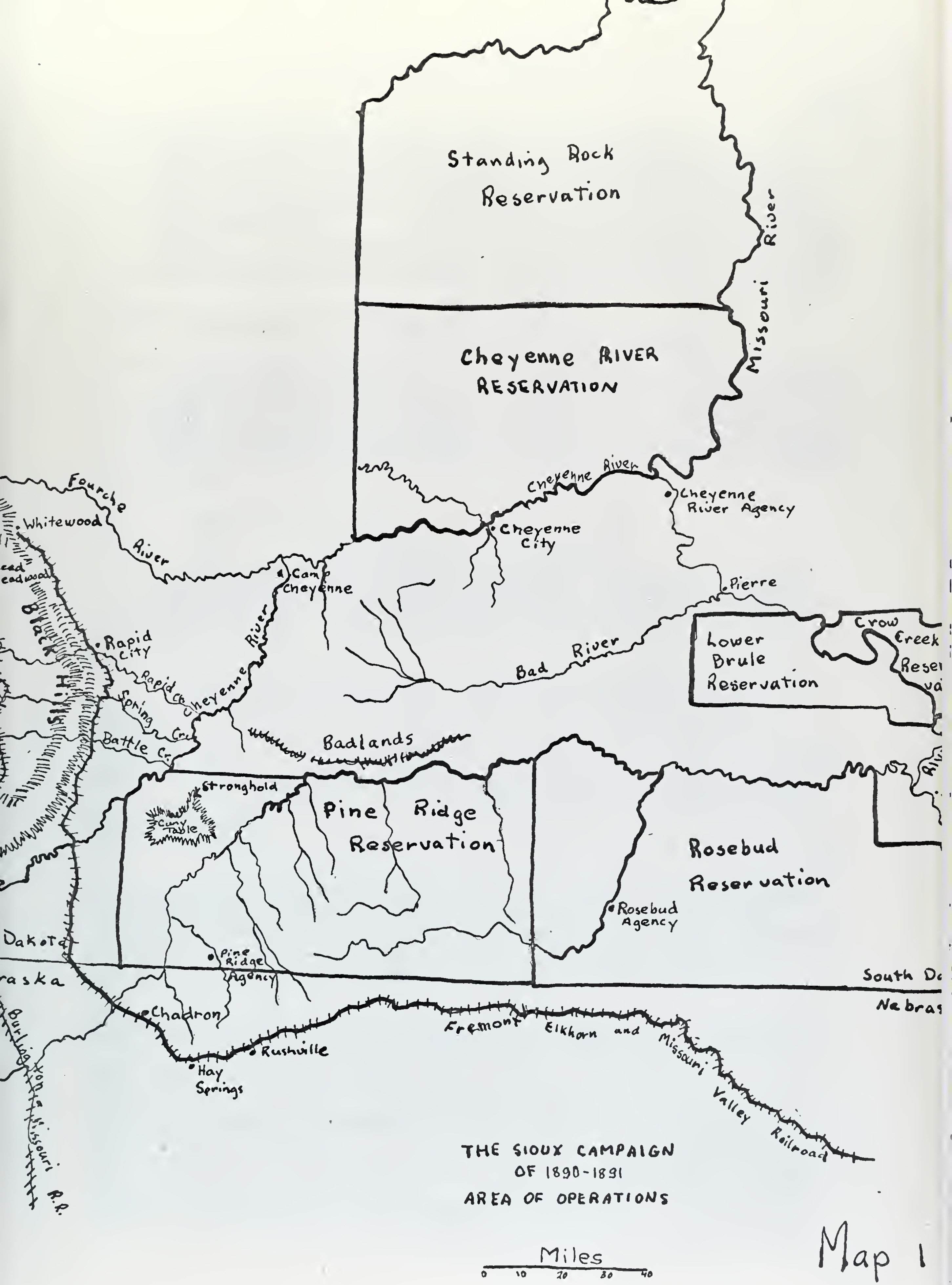
> These ghost dancers have reached such proportions that they become very serious. . . . If persuasive measures fail /to halt the dances/ then force them to obey by using the military.[8]

October 17, Standing Rock Agent James McLaughlin:

> It would seem impossible that any person, no matter how ignorant, could be brought to believe such absurd nonsense /the coming of a messiah/, but as a matter of fact a great many of the Indians at this agency actually believe it . . . and it now includes some Indians who were formerly numbered with the progressive and more intelligent, and many of the best Indians appear dazed and undecided when talking about it.[9]

November 2, Rosebud Special Agent E. B. Reynolds:

> This movement is continually gaining new adherents and they are daily becoming more threatening and defiant of the authorities. . . . Indians say they had


Standing Rock
Reservation
Missouri River
Cheyenne RIVER
RESERVATION
Cheyenne River
Cheyenne River Agency
Cheyenne City
Fourche
River
Whitewood
ead
eadwood
Black Hills
Camp Cheyenne
Pierre
Rapid City
Rapid Cr.
Cheyenne River
Spring Cr.
Battle Cr.
Bad River
Lower Brule Reservation
Crow Creek
Reser
va
Badlands
Stronghold
Cuny Table
Pine Ridge
Reservation
Rosebud
Reservation
Rosebud Agency
Dakota
raska
Pine Ridge Agency
South Da
Nebras
Chadron
Rushville
Hay Springs
Fremont Elkhorn and Missouri Valley Railroad
Burlington & Missouri R.R.
Miles
0
10
20
30
40

THE SIOUX CAMPAIGN
OF 1890-1891
AREA OF OPERATIONS

Map 1

Annual Report of the Secretary of War 1891

> better die fighting than die a slow death of starvation. . . . The indicators are unmistakable; these Indians have within the past three weeks traded horses and everything else they could trade for arms and ammunition. . . . To me there appears to be but one remedy . . . and that is sufficient force of troops to prevent the outbreak which is imminent.[10]

November 10, Cheyenne River Agent Palmer:

> The ghost dance is still in progress and increasing rather than diminishing. . . . The police no longer have any control of these dancers. . . . Reported here that the Indians are using all of their available means for the purchase of rifles and ammunition.[11]

November 11, Pine Ridge Agent Royer:

> /The ghost dance/ has assumed such large proportions that it has become a serious matter, and if some action is not taken soon the worst results may be expected.[12]

By November 13, the agents had succeeded in convincing Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs Robert V. Belt of the threat, and Belt reported to the Secretary of the Interior:

> I deem the situation at said agency /Pine Ridge/ arising from the ghost dance as very critical, and believe that an outbreak may occur at any time, and it does not seem to me to be safe to longer withhold troops from the agency.[13]

But the Secretary received even more convincing evidence that same day, for it was also on November 13 that President Harrison directed Secretary of War Proctor to "assume military responsibility" for the agencies. In his message to Proctor, the President continued:

> The situation seems to me to be serious. The authority and discipline of the agents must be maintained, and early steps must be taken to prevent any outbreak. . . .[14]

Probably unaware that he now had powerful support, Royer wired the Indian Bureau November 15:

> Indians are dancing in the snow and are wild and crazy. I have fully informed you that employees and government property at this agency have no protection and are at the mercy of these dancers. Why delay by further investigation? We need protection and we need it now. . . .[15]

The Government Responds

Special Agent James A. Cooper was at his home in Wichita, Kansas, November 15 when he received a dispatch from Commissioner Belt ordering him immediately to Pine Ridge to assist Royer and report on the condition of affairs there. Cooper replied that he would leave at once, but he did not arrive at the agency until November 20.[16]

Meanwhile, General Miles, who had been assigned the direct responsibility for protecting the agencies, ordered General Brooke and his troops to Pine Ridge and Rosebud "to prevent the threatened murder of civilian agents and employees." In Miles's words, he did not take such action until the conspiracy had spread over a vast extent of the country and the most serious Indian war of our history was imminent.[17] In the next several weeks, nearly one-half of the infantry and cavalry in the army as well as artillery units were brought to the Sioux agencies from most of the

forts west of the Mississippi. Some 1,300 soldiers and over 70 officers were gathered at Pine Ridge alone.[18]

The arrival of troops at the Indian agencies electrified the Sioux. On Medicine Root, Wounded Knee, and White Clay creeks the Oglalas gathered under Little Wound, Big Road, and No Water and the dances increased in tempo. At Rosebud, 1,000 Brules fled toward Pine Ridge. The followers of old Two Strike joined a small band of the discontented at Wounded Knee. The rest, led by Eagle Pipe, Turning Bear, High Hawk, Crow Dog, and others of the Brule chiefs joined Short Bull at the mouth of Pass Creek. On November 25, this latter group moved up White River and joined the Oglalas camped at the mouth of White Clay Creek.[19] The dissidents became known collectively as the "hostiles."

The area around the Pine Ridge Agency was crowded with the white canvas tepees of most of the remainder of the Oglalas, who had been gathered there by order of Royer and Brooke. With some misgivings on the part of Will Cressey, these Indians were designated the "friendlies" by the newsmen and government officials.[20]

The concern of government officials did not go unnoticed by the press. On November 16, the *Chicago Tribune* reported from Standing Rock Agency that information that General Miles might move regular troops against the Sioux had created a great deal of excitement among the

Indians, but had not lessened the dancing. "The Indians have evidently in many instances gone stark mad."[21]

The Washington Star reported several days later that General Schofield had received a dispatch from Miles stating that troops had been ordered to the Rosebud and Pine Ridge agencies to restore order among the Indians, who had "passed beyond control of the Indian agents."[22]

This was the state of affairs at Pine Ridge when the correspondents began arriving, and their reports over the next several weeks should be examined with this environment in mind.

The Correspondents Report the Threat

Precisely how many correspondents arrived with Will Cressey those first few days after the army came to Pine Ridge cannot be determined and is probably not significant. But that Cressey dominated the columns of the newspapers is significant, because for many Americans their initial impression of the Indian disturbance and the men who were reporting it was based largely on the Bee man's work. It was unique in style and consistent in its alarm. On his second day at the agency, Cressey wrote:

> The dawn of another day has come and mercifully without bloodshed in our midst. . . . The best judgment of those high in command is that the dancers will fight to the death rather than submit. . . . There are about 1,500 arms-bearing male Indians here on the Pine Ridge Agency. It is carefully estimated that only one-third of the number are for peace, and that the remaining

> 1,000 are anxious for blood. But 1,000 is but a handful of the force that the troops here anticipate encountering for there are thousands of others . . . who will surely join the Pine Ridge devils.[23]

The following day, the *Bee* reporter told his readers:

> Two of the best, wisest and most reliable government scouts in the government's employ reported to General Brooke at 9 o'clock last night that 150 lodges of the Wounded Knee fanatics including some of the most desperate and treacherous redskins in this part of the country, had moved to White River, 20 miles north of here and had again begun the ghost dance in a wilder manner than has been known thus far.[24]

And, the fourth day he wrote:

> Several hours were spent by General Brooke and his staff this afternoon peering at suspicious bands of Indians through field glasses. The more the glasses were used the blacker grew the brows that pressed them. It was finally learned that the figures seen gliding among the far away hill-tops were those dancing spies, but nothing was done about them.[25]

Cressey's copy was published by newspapers throughout the country, including the *New York Herald*, *New York World*, *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, *St. Paul Pioneer-Press*, and *Washington Star*.[26]

The *Bee* correspondent's dispatches were not the only alarming ones from Pine Ridge those first few days, but none of the remainder of the reporters were consistently as extreme. Their material was scaled down from the *Chicago Tribune* reporter's copy ("Here at the agency the general feeling is a nervous one. Nearly everyone agrees that there will be trouble.") to Bailey's in the

Inter-Ocean ("While the situation is serious, it is one of possibilities rather than probabilities. There is no danger to any frontier town or to the people in the Black Hills.").[27]

Bailey also told Inter-Ocean readers that the excitement decreased as he drew nearer the agency.[28]

The reports from Pine Ridge were consistently augmented by stories from a variety of other sources, some far from the reservation. Most of these stories were unrelated to the reporters at Pine Ridge except as they contributed to the appraisal of the newspaper coverage of the disturbance in general. But that in itself is an important consideration in evaluating criticism directed at the Pine Ridge newsmen. For example, at least five large dailies carried a dispatch November 22 credited to the wife of Pine Ridge entrepreneur Finley. Mrs. Finley, who had left the agency for safety, wrote her personal and inaccurate account of the ghost dance from Kansas City, Missouri. It included the suggestion that the dancing Sioux were practicing cannibalism, and concluded, "If the government just leaves them alone there will be no need of troops; they will kill themselves dancing. Seven or eight of them died as a result of one dance near Wounded Knee." The subject of cannibalism is not mentioned in more credible accounts of the dance, and there is no reliable record of any of the Sioux dying from the effects of the dance alone.[29]

By November 24, there were at least seven and as many as 14 correspondents at Pine Ridge, and although Allen calls them a congenial group, from the outset they were seldom in agreement on the meaning of what they saw and heard at Pine Ridge.[30] Not atypical of the entire campaign, the following material appeared on November 24 and 25:

New York Herald (probably written by Burkholder):

> This place presents an animated appearance today, being ration day. . . . The ghost dancers have disbanded and the participants are on the way here.[31]

Boylan in the St. Paul Pioneer-Press:

> The Indians drew part of their rations today, but instead of coming in as usual, the bucks are dancing the weird ghost dance back among the buttes a few miles from the agency and have sent the old men and squaws in for rations.[32]

Chicago Inter-Ocean (probably written by Bailey):

> No one can predict what the result will be, but all are confident that the Indian trouble can be arranged on the reservation, without danger to the settlements. All reports of fights so far are false.[33]

Cressey in the Omaha Bee:

> By the light of this as beautiful a Sabbath morning as ever dawned upon this wild and now turbulent country, we find ourselves in the midst of new and complicated cause for deep anxiety. Whether purposely or inadvertently, and most probably the former so the officials think, the Indians have completely surrounded the camp and agency. . . . The young bucks who form the great fighting element have not yet appeared and are reported to be massing in their respective bands in the background.[34]

The editors did not help allay the confusion. For example, the same day the Bee ran the above story by Cressey as their lead item, they followed it with a story from Rosebud that trouble with the Sioux seemed out of the question. The following day the Bee published an interview with the chief quartermaster of the Department of the Platte (which included Pine Ridge). He reported that things were calm enough at the agency that he had ridden unescorted from Pine Ridge to Rushville with Brooke's permission. The same day the Bee commented editorially that it seemed certain that a conflict with the Sioux would be averted.[35]

One need not look far for possible origins of this disagreement, and if the correspondents sought official government sources to settle the confusion, it is doubtful that they found much help. On November 22, Special Agent Lea, still conducting his census at Pine Ridge, told Agent Cooper, "By being with the Indians continuously for months, I have had an opportunity to watch their movements very closely, and know they are preparing to fight and will fight." Three days later Cooper wired Washington, "The presence of the military seems to have a good influence. I anticipate no trouble that will lead to bloodshed." The following day, Agent Royer telegraphed the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, "The situation is still serious; we hope to get matters settled without bloodshed."[36]

During these confusing early days of the disturbance, unofficial news sources were just as contradictory. John M. Sweeney, a white teacher in a Sioux day school on the Pine Ridge Reservation, wrote Royer, "It is a positive fact that the Indian dancers are all well armed and have plenty of ammunition and my opinion is that they have been preparing for trouble for some time."[37] Indian Police Chief George Sword, a logical news source for the reporters, told Dr. Eastman, "The craze is spreading like a prairie fire. . . . It looks bad."[38] But, those who predicted peace were just as outspoken. In a letter to the Bee, B. S. Paddock, a post trader at Pine Ridge, explained the situation as he viewed it:

> I have just returned from the only ghost dance that is going on within the limits of this reservation. . . . Outside of the fainting act, which is nothing but a pretense and acting, the dance is nothing but a quiet religious ceremony, with less excitement than is often seen in a Methodist revival. The Indians had no guns, and none in their tepees. . . . While the dance was in progress, 50 mounted Indians came over the hill from Porcupine Creek. They came two abreast, and they lined up in front of the dance. While they were in this line, and before they dismounted, we went down the line and gave each Indian a cigarette. This we did to look closely for arms. We found absolutely none. When the Indians came a distance of ten miles without guns, the indications are there is no war.[39]

Considering the obvious confusion at Pine Ridge, the correspondents were not in an enviable position, and their inability to agree on what they saw and heard should not be used as evidence that they were collectively and

intentionally distorting events at the agency.

Moving the Copy

Shortly after the troops arrived, the army installed a telegraph line at Pine Ridge, and the newsmen hoped it would expedite the dispatch of their copy. The closest alternative was the telegraph at Rushville, which required paying a courier $6.00 or relying on the daily stagecoach. As the threat increased, so did the courier fee and the uncertainty of the stagecoach run.[40] But the newsmen found that the army's wire at Pine Ridge was not as convenient as they had hoped. They were frequently forced to bribe the telegraph operators in addition to the official 1¢ a word fee to get their copy moved from Pine Ridge. Even more objectionable, General Brooke limited them to 50 words per message, and demanded the right of censorship.[41] The correspondents apparently decided that they could not abide by these restrictions, and most of their copy continued to be datelined "Pine Ridge via Rushville."

Toward the end of November, the army command and the agents at Pine Ridge began to show growing concern over the presence of the correspondents. On November 27, General Brooke called in Omaha reporters Smith and Cressey and asked them to cease sending what he considered sensational reports to their papers.[42] At the same time, Special Agent Cooper called in all of the correspondents,

required that they prove their business at the agency, and issued passes to those he considered legitimate newsmen. The Chicago Tribune reporter added that newsmen who were inclined to criticize the actions of the troops or agent were warned that the agency was not the place to do so, and were told that if they persisted they would be ordered to leave.[43] It was less than a week later that one of the government's severest critics, the Omaha World-Herald's Carl Smith, was forced to leave Pine Ridge.

Brooke was a rigid, austere man who made no effort to cultivate the press, and bluntly evaded their questions and refused to be interviewed.[44] By the end of November, the General's attitude was beginning to tell, and, although not yet unanimous, the press reacted with impatience at what they considered the army's inaction. The Chicago Tribune correspondent and Boylan of the St. Paul Pioneer-Press commented that official inaction puzzled the soldiers, the civilian whites, and even the Indians.[45] Although their criticism was eventually to be severe, Bailey of the Inter-Ocean and Kelley of the Nebraska State Journal were among those who supported the government in November. Kelley wrote, "It is safe to say the government has at no place three more capable and intelligent servants /Brooke, Cooper, and Royer/, more trustworthy to deal with the present serious crisis."[46] Bailey told Inter-Ocean readers, "General Brooke has acted quietly, firmly, and promptly,

and is master of the situation. He gives the press every courtesy, and only regrets that anyone should have sent out unwarranted sensational reports."[47]

There is also an indication that even the officials were not in accord. On November 28, Agents Cooper and Royer wired the Commissioner of Indian Affairs complaining of destruction of friendly Indians' property by marauding braves under the direction of Two Strike, Short Bull, and other hostile chiefs. They added, "Will property of friendly Indians be protected? This matter has been fully reported to General Brooke; some action should certainly be taken to arrest the lawless parties at once."[48]

The following day, referring to the agents' anger at the inaction of the troops, Bailey wrote, "While it is trying on one's temper and nerves to remain idle, it is probably best. . . . The moment the troops move, the Indians would skip out and the war would go out among the ranches."[49]

Criticism of the General was soon to increase, and in his defense, a probable cause for part of the criticism was summed up well by the Inter-Ocean, which editorialized:

> Some of the correspondence from the seat of disturbance is full of complaints against the administration, whose lack of celerity is bemoaned eloquently. But it must be remembered that the war correspondent ever was the most war-like personage. . . . There is the stuff that makes a good brigadier in most good war correspondents. But the brigadier always is in a greater hurry to move than the major general is. The

superior officer has the greater responsibility and is more anxious about "a good get ready."[50]

The last day of November, an unidentified correspondent sought the postmaster at Pine Ridge, was sworn in as an official mail courier, and set out for Wounded Knee with some U. S. mail and a bevy of other correspondents as official escorts. Their intent was to return via Two Strike's camp, but before they reached Wounded Knee Brooke had them intercepted and turned back, explaining that he wanted none of the newsmen visiting the hostile camps.

The Sioux Hostiles Flee to the Badlands

Late in November, the hostiles who were gathered north and east of the agency began one of the final great ghost dances, and by the end of the month had begun to strike their tepees and drift off toward South Dakota's Badlands northeast of the agency.

The Pine Ridge and Rosebud reservations were home for about 10,000 Sioux--2,800 of whom were males over 18 years old. Nearly 3,000 of the total were eventually involved in the flight to the Badlands, but only an estimated 700 of these were warriors. As they withdrew to the Badlands, and for several weeks thereafter, the hostiles burned a total of 53 dwellings, one church, two schools and a bridge, all on the reservation, and the majority belonging to other Sioux.[52]

On November 30, Agents Cooper and Royer wired

Washington:

> Reliable information just received that about 500 lodges of Rosebud and Pine Ridge Indians . . . making their way into Badlands. . . . They plundered all of the schools and private houses of Medicine Root and Porcupine creeks, stealing all of the hay in that section of the country. They number 600 warriors dressed in war costumes with plenty of arms and ammunition.[53]

The war cry from the frightened Indians was first heard among the correspondents by Will Cressey. On November 29, he told his large reading audience that Plenty Bear, "an old-time friendly Indian," had reported to Agent Royer that the 2,000 Indians camped at Wounded Knee Creek about 25 miles northwest of the agency had resumed the war dance, "with many war-like accompanyments." Among others, the Pioneer-Press and New York Herald carried his story.[54] On December 1, the agents wired Washington that the agency's chief herder had reported that the hostiles were killing many agency cattle and had fired the range. The agents added, "We are in perfect harmony with General Brooke."[55] Their apparent change in attitude from just three days earlier when they had joined newsmen in complaining of the army's inaction was typical of the many reverses of opinion at the agency that winter.

The exodus of the hostiles to the Badlands and the saber rattling on both sides that accompanied it offered the reporters copy that for one of the few times was essentially in agreement. This was undoubtedly influenced by

the reliance by both the reporters and government officials on the few scouts and friendly Indians who saw the Badlands camp of the hostiles.

Both Bailey and Boylan wrote that the Indians had issued an invitation to the army to come out and fight. Boylan added that the principal work for the correspondents was to investigate the dozen different daily rumors and try to avoid sending out unnecessary alarms. Kelley's dispatch to the *Nebraska State Journal* November 30 told of friendly spies returning to the agency hourly with horrible tales of riot, pillage, and desolation. An unsigned article in the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* December 1 described the Indians as "sweeping everything before them . . . all cabins were demolished . . . every ranchman in the Wounded Knee, Porcupine, and Pine Ridge country is a heavy sufferer."[56]

December 2, Secretary of the Interior Noble directed that the Sioux Indians be supplied with increased rations sufficient to conform to the agreement made in 1877.

It was also December 2 that Carl Smith's last dispatch before being sent back to Omaha was published by the *World-Herald*. Before he left, Smith asked his friend Charles Allen to cover events at Pine Ridge for the *World-Herald* until his paper could get a replacement to the agency. Confirming his loyalty to the *New York Herald*, Allen refused to assume such a commitment, but agreed to "let the *World-Herald* know nothing was happening."[57]

The alarm sounded by the press over the flight of the hostiles to the Badlands may have been magnified, but their reports were substantiated by officials. In a widely published statement to the press December 2, General Miles said:

> The seriousness of the situation [at Pine Ridge] has not been exaggerated. The disaffection is more widespread than it has been at any time for years. The conspiracy extends to more different tribes than have heretofore been hostile, but they are now in full sympathy with each other and are scattered over a larger area of country than in the whole history of Indian warfare. It is a more comprehensive plot than anything ever inspired by the prophet Tecumseh, or even Pontiac.[58]

It was a strange twist of affairs that two of the calmest voices from Pine Ridge those first days of December came from Kelley of the State Journal and Agent Royer. Kelley wrote, "There is now a sufficient number of troops at these places to thoroughly master the Indians at all points." Royer wired the Commissioner, "Since the arrival of the military I do not think the spirit of disobedience . . . is growing. On the other hand I feel safe in saying that the Indians are more quiet and obedient than for some time past."[59]

But, most of the newsmen were in agreement with Miles, and on December 4, Cressey again captured the attention of editors throughout the country with his story:

> Intense silence and darkness prevail in our district tonight. . . . The hostile Indians are making use of every moment's delay on the part of the military to move on them by strengthening their now almost impregnable camp in the dreaded Badlands. . . . High officials say that we shall eat but few more meals this side of the Badlands.[60]

The *Inter-Ocean* printed Cressey's story and accompanied it with Bailey's verification that "runners came in this morning confirming former reports and adding that the hostiles have dug rifle pits and erected stone and brush shelters to fire from along the approaches to Grass Basin, in the Badlands."[61] Four days later Bailey's dispatch was an excellent summary of what his fellow newsmen had been writing for ten days past:

> The hostiles number from 1,000 to 1,200 warriors, as well-armed and supplied with horses as the troops. They are in the Badlands, where they have picked out a place of safety for the few women and children and a battle ground that cannot be approached by cavalry or cannon. They have destroyed the settlements in the valleys of the Porcupine and White Clay creeks, and along White River. . . . They have sent in word that they will fight, and will not return to the agency unless the soldiers leave, and if they leave, then the Indians will come on horseback and capture the agency.[62]

Colonel Guy V. Henry, commander of the Ninth Cavalry, examined the Badlands sanctuary of the Indians on December 26. He concluded that the reports given the newsmen by scouts were greatly exaggerated, and in an article in *Harper's Weekly* he wrote:

> Instead of narrow trails or defiles of approach accessible in a single file, where we could have been

> shot down by the Indians at will, we found a broad open divide; instead of impregnable earth works, only a ridiculously weak pile of earth existed, here and there filled in by a dead horse. The Indians occupied a narrow position from which they could have been easily shelled. They had taken one military precaution, however, that of preparing for retreat. . . . When I saw this burlesque I could only laugh.[63]

It cannot be determined whether the newsmen were intentionally overestimating the threat, or were sincere in their belief that the Indians were building "an impregnable fortress." One thing is certain--when writing their dispatches, they did not have the benefit of Colonel Henry's description of the hostile camp, but were forced instead to rely on the testimony of those few who had seen the encampment. The only newsman known to have later approached the position in person did not distort what he saw. The unidentified World-Herald man reporting from the camp of the Sixth Cavalry at Spring Creek accompanied Dr. McGillycuddy to within two or three miles of the Indians' camp in mid-December, and wrote that they found several easy routes in and out of that "so-called impregnable stronghold."[64]

Brooke Sends His Emissaries to the Badlands

The month of December was largely one of waiting--a situation not particularly conducive to war reporting. Brooke's policy was to avoid battle if possible, and as an alternative he sent emissaries to the Badlands in an effort to persuade the hostiles to return to the agency. His plan did not please the impatient correspondents, and they were

outspoken about it. Kelley wrote December 9, "The troops have now been here two weeks and not a move has been made to protect property and stock. The criticism made upon General Brooke is of the severest character."[65]

In their idleness, the newsmen began contributing copy to an imaginary daily they named "The Badlands Budget," described by Allen as a legendary publication dedicated to rumor. Charles Seymour of the Chicago Herald expressed his boredom with a poem for the "Budget," writing:

> All silent lies the village,
> On the bosom of the vale,
> So I'll squeeze another pipe-dream,
> And grind out another tale.[66]

Brooke's first peace mission was led by Father John Jutz, a 70-year old Roman Catholic missionary who was well liked by the Oglalas. Cressey announced the day the priest left for the Badlands that it was a last effort to reach a peaceful settlement. He added that the mission was intended by Brooke to be a secret.[67]

Jutz was successful in convincing the chiefs of the wisdom of a conference with General Brooke, and the colorful procession arrived at the agency December 6. Cressey's graphic description again took the honors with the editors. He described the procession led by an Indian bearing a flag of truce. In Cressey's story, all of the Indians were armed with Winchester and Springfield rifles, decorated

with war paint and feathers, and wearing ghost dance shirts and leggings. Alleging to have interviewed one of the hostile chiefs, Cressey quoted him:

> We shall starve, we know we shall starve. The treat with Father Jute /sic/ is only a trap to cheat us; we will have one big eat before the starvation time comes. After that we shall fight our last fight and the white man will see more blood and death by us and our guns than ever before, and we will go to the last hunting ground happy.

The Chicago Tribune, Chicago Inter-Ocean, New York Herald, and New York World were among those that used all or part of Cressey's material on the Jutz delegation.[68]

Bailey wrote that he had ridden out to meet the hostile warriors and had returned at the head of the procession at the side of the Indian carrying the truce flag. He also described the hostiles as being "in full war feathers and armed to the teeth."[69] None of the other correspondents mentioned Bailey as part of the entourage.

Contradicting Cressey and Bailey, Kelley wrote that while horses and men were painted when they reached Father Jutz's mission, they had washed it off when they stopped to spend the night there before proceeding to Pine Ridge, "and their entry caused no comment on that score."[70] Although there is no evidence independent of the press reports, it seems unlikely that Kelley would have passed up the opportunity to enliven his story with war paint had the Indians been wearing it.

General Brooke refused to allow the newsmen to be present when he met with the chiefs, but the reporters learned of the content of the meeting, and the New York Herald, Duluth Tribune, and St. Louis Globe-Democrat carried stories that Brooke had promised the Indians all of the rations they wanted if they would cease their hostile attitude and return to the agency. General Miles read the press reports and wired Brooke that if they were to be believed, he, Brooke, had apparently not had command of the situation. Brooke's opinion of the reporters was not enhanced by the dispatch from his commander.[71]

The Father Jutz venture succeeded in splitting the hostile camp, and resulted in even greater indecision and milling about by the Indians. On December 8, Bailey found Two Strike and a group of about 40 of his followers camped at Father Jutz's mission, and he spent the night with them. He wrote that their complaints were a rerun of the old murmurings of hunger and fear of the bluecoats.[72] But Two Strike had listened attentively to Brooke, and when he returned to the Badlands he began a stormy campaign to convince Short Bull and Kicking Bear and their followers of the wisdom of returning to the agency to accept the benefits promised by Brooke. This time it was Kelley and not Cressey who first got wind of the strife in the hostiles' camp. On December 9, he wrote, "The hostiles camped near the Badlands are quarreling among themselves over the

question of coming to this agency. . . . So strong is the feeling on both sides that fighting may take place."[73] Fighting did take place in the Badlands, but depending on the source it was either very violent or just a noisy demonstration.

The Chiefs Argue and Brooke Sends Another Emissary

Shortly after Father Jutz's peace mission, Brooke called Indian scout Louis Shangreau and asked him to take friendly Indians of his choice and attempt to persuade the hostiles to return to the agency. Shangreau reached the Badlands and found that Father Jutz's mission had accomplished a great deal. Two Strike was preparing to return to the agency, but the waivering Short Bull and Kicking Bear were afraid, and the hesitant Short Bull told Shangreau, "It is better to die here as brave men . . . than to live like cowards at the agency on scanty rations, disarmed and without horses."

Two Strike and his followers gathered up their belongings and began their return to the agency, but a skirmish occurred in which several Indians were knocked down and one of the horses and several dogs of Two Strike's group were shot. When things calmed down again, Two Strike left for Pine Ridge, and Short Bull and Kicking Bear followed close behind to the vicinity of White River, where they lost heart and returned to the Badlands. Shangreau

remained with Two Strike, who set up camp at White River to work up his courage for the return to the agency.[74]

Most of the correspondents at Pine Ridge sent a dispatch on the conflict, identifying their source as "Yankton Charlie," one of Shangreau's scouts who had fled the Badlands when the conflict began. The Chicago Tribune reporter wrote:

> Yankton Charlie, a full-blooded Sioux and government scout, came in at two o'clock this morning from the Indians' camp in the Badlands and reported a bloody fight among the followers of the Indian chiefs Short Bull and Two Strike. . . . The result is from twenty to fifty dead Indians. This report is verified by several friendlies who have been waiting for some time to escape to the agency. As the spies took advantage of the fight to make their escape, it is not known yet which chief conquered. . . . It is useless to talk of peace.

The most original description of the actual "battle" came from Kelley, who wrote:

> Two Strike stepped forth before the people, and drawing a long line through the sand with his foot, invited all those who were for peace to come upon one side of the line and their opponents to remain upon the other. A hundred or two immediately surrounded their old chief /Two Strike/. They had no sooner done so than the young men under Short Bull set up a tremendous whoop and bore down upon their opponents with war clubs. . . . Soon were to be seen many dead on both sides, the tops of their heads crushed in with the war clubs.[75]

But, as was usually the case during the campaign, many of the reporters sent their papers straightforward accounts based on the best information available to them.

The *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, *New York Herald*, and for one of the few times, the *Omaha Bee*, carried less vivid accounts similar to the following from the *Pioneer-Press*:

> Yankton Charlie, one of the Indian scouts who accompanied interpreters to the hostile camp several days ago, returned this morning. He says that when they entered the Badlands, many of the Indians wanted to kill them. This precipitated a row in which Two Strike and his friends, who wish to come to the agency, defended the scouts and they remained. . . . This difference of opinion resulted yesterday in a final row when guns were drawn and an attempt made to take Two Strike's life. In this they were foiled, and the riot that occurred resulted in a division of the camp, the greater number joining Two Strike and declaring their intention to come to the agency.[76]

On December 12, General Brooke wired General Miles:

> From reports received, I am of the opinion that Two Strike and all the other chiefs are coming in from White River. Short Bull and Kicking Bear with a small following broke away and went back to the Badlands. . . . There was quite a fight, and some Indians were hurt.

That same day, Miles wired Washington, "Reports from General Brooke and General Ruger are quite favorable. The presence of troops . . . has had a demoralizing influence upon the Indians and those that a week ago were defiant and war-like are now giving evidence of submission."[77]

On December 13 and 14, the *New York Herald* and *Omaha World-Herald* carried an identical story that Two Strike and his band were enroute to the agency, glad to be

returning, and badly frightened by the threat of war. The correspondent added that unless stampeded by added fear, the coming of the people from the Badlands promised to end the Indian disturbance so far as Pine Ridge and Rosebud were concerned.[78] It was an accurate prophesy, because the last of the hostile bands was enroute to the agency December 29, when the encounter at Wounded Knee sent most of the frightened Sioux scurrying for the Badlands once again.

In what may have been a further distortion of the Two Strike-Short Bull-Kicking Bear encounter, many newspapers printed a story December 13 originating in Rapid City, and claiming that troops had clashed with Kicking Bear's band four miles from Pine Ridge, resulting in "many dead on both sides." There is no evidence to implicate any of the Pine Ridge correspondents in the story of that imagined battle.[79]

Bailey had planned to ride out once again to meet the restive Two Strike, but Brooke sent word that he was not to leave the agency. Embittered, the Inter-Ocean correspondent wrote that unlike Indians, reporters were not loaded with gifts and food for prompt obedience. He added his regrets that the General should limit him because their observations, deductions, and beliefs differed.[80]

The Army Moves on Big Foot

The army was no more certain of the situation in the

Badlands than were the newsmen, but General Miles had no intention of allowing reinforcements to join those already in the hostile encampment. Accordingly, on December 3, Lieutenant Colonel Edwin V. Sumner had been ordered to keep one such band under observation. His assignment was the revered chief of the Miniconjous, Big Foot, who ranked with Sitting Bull on the army's list of trouble-makers. Shortly after Sumner arrived, Big Foot spent two days with the Colonel getting acquainted. Sumner, no newcomer to parleying with Indians, was impressed and predicted that there would be no trouble with Big Foot's Miniconjous. There is considerable evidence that Big Foot desired peace, but as so often was the case with the old chiefs, he could not control his young braves.

It was in mid-December that the Oglala chiefs offered Big Foot 100 horses to come to Pine Ridge to council with them. Big Foot announced plans to wait for the ration issue December 22 at Cheyenne River Agency, and then to decide whether or not to make the trek to Pine Ridge.[81]

Again, the reporters grew impatient, and when Brooke sent out a group of friendly Indians to intercept Two Strike to try to persuade him to stay on the path to the agency, Cressey wrote:

> While everything . . . seems in readiness to move out against the hostiles, yet the order to start has

> not been given. Why this order has not been given nobody knows but General Brooke, and of course he will not tell. That the mysterious sending out towards the Badlands of a large number of supposedly friendly Indians from this agency, all fully armed and supplied with rations and camping outfits, this forenoon is a forerunner of battle can scarcely be doubted.

Kelley wrote that sending Indians to fight Indians was a poor policy which would not teach the Indians the power of government nor justify the presence of troops at the agencies.[82]

On December 16, a group of newsmen were passing time at the "Hotel de Finley" when they heard singing. Walking from the hotel, they encountered 30 horsemen followed by a large number of the hostiles, all headed for Royer's office. The scouts under Louis Shangreau were returning with Two Strike's band.[83] Brooke's policy had been partially successful, and the General immediately informed Miles, who in turn wired Washington:

> General Brooke reported that Two Strike and 184 lodges of about 800 Indians are now camped at Pine Ridge Agency and these with the other Indians at Pine Ridge and Rosebud are all that can be drawn out of the disaffected camp. The others are defiant and hostile and are determined to go to war. He has no hope that any other effort at pacification would be successful. He estimates the number of men in the hostile camp in the Badlands at 250.[84]

The Correspondents and Their Editors

Meanwhile, T. H. Tibbles and his wife were having their problems. Tibbles wrote:

> Our newspapers had grown indignant with us for not turning in anything interesting about "this great Indian war" all around us. . . . Because we absolutely refused to manufacture tales about a "war" which simply did not exist, we soon were sharply ordered home as complete failures. Only a personal appeal to the various powers from General Miles . . . made it possible for us to stay at Pine Ridge.

The Tibbles were not alone. Years after the Pine Ridge disturbance, Bailey wrote of his editor at the Rocky Mountain News "burning the wire yelling, 'more blood.'"[85]

Allen defended his editors at the New York Herald-- "They seemed to understand our situation /inactivity/ and advised curtailed wires to correspond. Mr. Burkholder and I were instructed to confine ourselves to 25 words per day unless something of importance arose."[86] But the Herald editors frequently took its correspondents' brief (and usually accurate) dispatches and livened them up with other copy from the agency, frequently Cressey's. Edgar Medary, who also wrote for the Herald briefly in January, blamed the type and headlines put with his stories for any lurid appeal they might have had.[87]

Unfortunately, there is no means to determine definitively how great the pressures from the editors were on the Pine Ridge reporters. Nor can it be determined to what extent their copy was edited and rewritten. But what little evidence Tibbles, Bailey, Allen, and Medary offer suggests that if the reporting from Pine Ridge is judged negatively, the editors may well deserve a share of the blame.

With the Cavalry and Militia at Spring Creek

From the Badlands, action shifted to the vicinity of Spring Creek northwest of Pine Ridge, where Colonel Eugene Carr's Sixth Cavalry, like Sumner's Eighth, was assigned to keep Indians from the northern agencies from fleeing south to the Badlands. In the same area, South Dakota militia, under the leadership of M. H. Day and composed of an assortment of about 50 homesteaders and cowboys, clashed several times with small bands of Indians in mid-December.

On December 11, an unidentified reporter for the New York World left Rapid City with E and G companies of Carr's Sixth. He remained with the cavalry throughout the campaign, and accompanied Carr to his camp at Wounded Knee Creek early in January.[88]

A correspondent for the Omaha Bee also joined the cavalry at Spring Creek about the same time, although he apparently did not stay for more than a few days. Utley identifies the Bee man as Cressey, but this is unlikely, since Cressey's by-lines continued from Pine Ridge.

On December 12, the Bee reporter accompanied a small group of Day's militia to Daly's ranch where they ambushed several marauding braves who were trying to burn buildings there. He wrote that three or four of the Indians were killed. The only relevant comment from Pine Ridge on the incident was from Bailey, who wrote on the

17th. "The military reported that no Indians were killed at Daly's ranch. The Indians told me three were killed, and now Dr. McGillycuddy reports having buried that number."[89]

Several days later a courier rushed into Carr's camp and announced to the commander that the Indians had clashed with one of his units killing two officers and 50 soldiers. The unidentified *World* correspondent sent the following brief dispatch:

> A rancher has just arrived at this camp with a report of a fight between a cavalry command and a large body of Indians. He says the fight was a desperate one, and that two officers and fifty men of the cavalry were killed.

The *World* editors added:

> A *World* correspondent, as our readers are aware, accompanied the expedition under Major Perry from Rapid City to the Cheyenne River. Up to the hour of going to press, this morning, no confirmation of the report of a battle had been received, but as the facilities for getting dispatches to the nearest telegraph station are poor and uncertain, this does not necessarily indicate that no battle has been fought.[90]

The *World* failed to publish any subsequent reports on this incident from its correspondent.

The remainder of the stories on the alleged clash were datelined Rapid City and Denver, the latter apparently the result of the story being redistributed on the wire from Denver. Although Bailey's second employer, the *Rocky Mountain News*, is credited with the story by several other newspapers, the *Inter-Ocean* continued to dateline Bailey's

stories Pine Ridge through December 19, which absolves the professor of blame for the story. In fact, late on the 19th Bailey rode to the Cheyenne camp and in his dispatch that evening he wrote, "The Denver report that a company of the cavalry had been wiped out is false. There is no fighting except for the occasional exchange of shots along the Cheyenne."[91] The day following the alleged massacre, the Omaha Bee, which had not carried a report from its own correspondent, printed a story based on an interview with Miles, who had moved his headquarters from Chicago to Rapid City. The Bee reported that the General had heard nothing of such an engagement and that it undoubtedly had not occurred. The Washington Star also disclaimed the battle.[92]

As was frequently the case in such incidents during December, there is no evidence that the Pine Ridge correspondents played any part in this trumped up battle. In fact, Bailey had rather aggressively sought and published the truth.

Several days later, Indians from Short Bull's camp attacked a small party of Day's men on Spring Creek near its junction with the Cheyenne River. Carr dispatched about 100 men under Major T. C. Tupper to aid the militia, and a brief skirmish resulted. The Indians were dispersed without any known casualties to either side.[93] Again, the stories came datelined Rapid City and Denver. There is no

evidence that any of the correspondents from Pine Ridge covered this encounter, although Bailey was in the Rapid City area on the 19th and 20th. He wrote from the telegraph office in Chadron December 20, "I have just returned from a trip along the entire line of troops from Pine Ridge to Rapid City." He added:

> The jovial face of Frederic Remington, the famous artist, shone with delight as he started with the troops this morning from Rapid City saying, "We will smell powder and Indians by Wednesday boys." . . . The followers of Big Foot . . . have started east . . . to join their friends near Cherry Creek and go to the Badlands.

A *New York Herald* correspondent wrote the following day:

> General Miles was in a pleasant mood when the *Herald* correspondent called at headquarters this evening. He has just shaved off his heavy iron grey mustache, and is perhaps preparing to don the horsehide suit which Frederic Remington, the artist, said before his departure for Cheyenne, would mean business.[94]

While Carr's troops and Day's cowboys were chasing Short Bull's braves on the Cheyenne River, two significant events occurred elsewhere in the Dakotas.

Sitting Bull and Big Foot

On December 15, the powerful, colorful Sioux medicine man, Sitting Bull--*Tatanka Iyotanke*, age about 56--was killed by Standing Rock Indian police during an attempt to take him into custody. His death at the hands of the government spread further fear among the already badly

frightened Sioux. Most of Sitting Bull's followers surrendered at Standing Rock Agency in the next few days, but about 50 of them joined Big Foot's band at Cheyenne River or went on to join the hostile bands at Pine Ridge Reservation.

Two days later, December 17, Colonel Sumner received the following telegram: "It is desirable that Big Foot be arrested, and had it been practicable to send you /Captain A. B./ Wells with his two troops, orders would have been given you to try to get him." It was the first indication Sumner had that the government was considering arresting the Miniconjou chief. The Colonel increased his surveillance of the Big Foot Sioux.[95]

The Search for News

By December 19, T. H. Tibbles, who had heretofore been less likely to predict trouble than his fellow reporters, wrote:

> The military today counted the returned recalcitrants and issued rations to them. There were 1,025. . . . It is my opinion that a few more will get away and come in, but a large majority will not; that there will be a fight and that the cavalry will make short work of it, and that it will be fought in less than a week.

The Globe-Democrat, Pioneer-Press, and Inter-Ocean published a similar report from an unidentified correspondent, who added that there were about 500 Indians left in the Badlands, that they were surrounded by troops, and would be

destroyed if they chose to fight.[96]

But the Bee's Cressey saw his story in an alleged interview between Agent Royer and hostile Chief Little Wound. He wrote of Little Wound's response to the Agent's suggestion that General Brooke be consulted:

> "Never, never never," exclaimed the painted chief with an evil twist of his head and a fierce stamp of his foot, "Never would I go see him, no, no!" and jumping to his feet . . . he who but a few days ago was challenging the pale faces to meet him in battle in the Badlands, strode out of the room more deeply enraged than when he entered it.[97]

The other correspondents failed to mention the interview with Little Wound, nor did Cressey explain how he had come to witness the discussion, especially since official sources were apparently more tight-lipped than ever.

It was the same day, December 19, that Bailey wrote:

> General Brooke does not love the reporter who sends out any items that do not agree with his personal views, and refuses one after another his permission to tell the public the news. The news will, however, continue to arrive as usual on time.[98]

Tibbles took a more direct route--because Brooke had treated him curtly, his policy was to avoid the General.[99] Allen also avoided Brooke, and said that most of his fellow correspondents did likewise. He added that for the experienced correspondent, scouts like Frank Grouard and Buckskin Jack Russell were better sources, and

were free to discuss anything they were not specifically instructed to keep to themselves. The scouts were always welcome guests among the correspondents, and their names crop up frequently in the bantering that went on among the newsmen.[100]

But not all sources were as reliable as Russell and Grouard, and the silence from official sources forced reliance on almost anyone who would talk. Unfortunately, the majority of the newsmen at Pine Ridge were not as adept at interpreting their sources as were men like Allen and Burkholder, who were frontiersmen. George Harries, who arrived at Pine Ridge in mid-January as a reporter for the Washington Star, called the majority of his contemporaries tenderfeet, a condition he described as undesirable for a man who seeks truth in time of trouble on the frontier. "He will be deceived," wrote Harries, "and while under the influence of this deception he not infrequently sends as news that which will not bear intelligent scrutiny."[101] Young Kelley from Cincinnati was apparently the victim of yarns on several occasions. For example, when post trader Agee told him that Chief Wounded Knee was at the agency, Kelley did not realize there was no Chief Wounded Knee. In his dispatch on December 14, Kelley wrote that the Sioux were making arrows within pistol shot of the agency. The Sioux were well armed and supplied with ammunition, and the likelihood that the friendly Indians were making arrows

within sight of the agency is slight.[102]

Lack of official cooperation undoubtedly drove the newsmen to less knowledgeable and less reliable news sources, but in defense of the government officials, their experiences with the press were not always indicative of a responsible corps of reporters. There was Carl Smith, who pirated official wires for his stories, and there was a penchant on the part of most of the newsmen to publish troop movements and other evolutions without much thought of the consequences. It was the first Indian war where a significant number of the enemy could read and had access to the press reports. As early as November 19, General Miles expressed concern about the publication of troop movements saying that the information would be in the Indian camps within 24 hours.[103] No military commander could look favorably on a report such as that published in the New York Harald:

> The troops will be placed tomorrow as follows: General Carr, with nine troops of the 6th Cavalry, one company of the 17th Infantry, and two hotchkiss guns at the junction of Wounded Knee Creek and White River; Colonel Offlay with two troops of cavalry and six companies of the 7th Infantry will be on White River about four miles southeast of Big Grass Creek; Colonel Sanford with four troops of the 8th Cavalry, four companies of the 2nd Infantry and one hotchkiss gun will be at the junction of White Clay Creek and White River. . . . (etc.)[104]

A new wave of criticism occurred December 19 and 20 when General Brooke sent another group of friendly Indians

to try to persuade the remaining dissidents to return to government control. Several newspapers carried a story that of the desired 400 friendlies, Brooke had only managed to recruit 115 for the venture.[105] The State Journal's Kelley wrote the same day that it would not be politic to print all about the agency that the newsmen knew, but that Brooke had succeeded in getting only 46 Indians to go out. The following day, Kelley increased the number to 96, more closely agreeing with his fellow correspondents, but added that he hoped there would be an official investigation of events at Pine Ridge so that the guilty parties could be properly exposed.[106]

Big Foot Moves

The Indian police at Pine Ridge took their position seriously, and on December 21 they arrested 11 troopers for climbing through a wire security fence in search of water. They also arrested Will Cressey, who was presumably covering the arrest of the soldiers. Although he was promptly released, Cressey's apprehension was seen by his fellow newsmen as divine punishment for his past reporting. Cressey wired his story of the arrest of the troopers to the Bee, but of himself said only that he had been talking to the guard-house keeper at the time.[107]

But bigger news than the arrest of Cressey and the 11 soldiers was in the air, and on December 22 the events that were to lead to the winter's biggest story began. The

St. Louis Globe-Democrat correspondent wired his paper from the camp on Spring Creek:

> The prospects of an early cessation of hostilities, at least in one section, is almost now certain. . . . Colonel Sumner has rounded up 330 of Big Foot's people on the Cheyenne River, and will either bring them into our camp or to Fort Meade.[108]

The correspondents at Pine Ridge had no way of knowing that the movements of Big Foot would soon result in the battle they had been waiting for since November. There was little other news, and when Buckskin Jack Russell stepped into Finley's hotel December 23 with his customary grin and said, "The messiah has come," they jumped at the chance for a story. They questioned Russell and found out that the agency police had just arrested an Iowan in the Indians' camp named A. C. Hopkins who claimed to be the Indians' much-sought messiah. One of the reporters commented that it was too bad Will Cressey had left for Rushville that morning, and another said that Cressey was due back, and was sure to wring a column or two of copy out of the messiah.

When Cressey returned, Hopkins was temporarily being held in the guard house waiting to be escorted off the agency. The Bee correspondent, who stuttered when excited, broke into Brooke's office and asked, "GGGGeneral, do you have CCCCChrist in the GGGGGGuardhouse?"[109] But Cressey's fellows were somewhat hypocritical, and although

Cressey's story was by far the most extensive, several others also managed to wring a story out of the ill-treated messiah.[110] In fact, the story that received the widest use was not Cressey's, but one from an unidentified correspondent (possibly the Associated Press' O'Brian), who wrote:

> The police have arrested the Messiah down in Red Cloud's camp. When they pulled the white blanket off they found an intelligent but harmless crank, A. C. Hopkins by name, from Nashua, Iowa. . . . Some of the Indians were indignant over his arrest, while others laughed and said that he was a crazy fool. None of the chiefs take any stock in him, and Red Cloud walked up to him and said, "You go home. You are no son of God."[111]

In lieu of much else to write about, the reporters also continued to criticize Brooke. The emphasis of Kelley's story to the Nebraska State Journal Christmas eve was his opinion that it was wrong for the General to continue to require the friendly Indians to remain close by the agency. Far down in the story he casually mentioned that Big Foot had eluded Colonel Sumner's command and was at large with his band of 300 or so Indians somewhere north of Pine Ridge.[112]

Miles did not take Big Foot's disappearance as lightly as Kelley. On December 23, he had wired Lieutenant Colonel Sumner authorizing him to arrest Big Foot, and shortly after had wired Colonel H. C. Merriam, in command of the Seventh Infantry:

> Endeavor to unite your four companies with Colonel Sumner's command and arrest Big Foot and his immediate following--the 30 Indians that ran away from Hump's band and the 40 Standing Rock Indians /from Sitting Bull's band/. There are now with Big Foot about 330 Indians; about 100 men. He has been defiant in harboring hostiles and renegades and should be taken under positive control.

When he learned of Big Foot's evasion of Sumner, Miles's aide telegraphed Merriam on the General's behalf:

> The Division Commander is much embarrassed that Big Foot /was/ allowed to escape and directs you to use the force under your command to recapture him.[113]

The afternoon of December 24, Colonel Guy Henry received an order at Pine Ridge from Brooke directing him to move out immediately toward the Badlands to head off Big Foot should he move that way. Pine Ridge was embroiled in what was to be this country's last hostile engagement with the Sioux. With Henry were companies D, F, I, and K of the Ninth Cavalry, and a correspondent for the Omaha Bee.[114]

Anxious for action, the correspondents took a collection and offered a $25 purse to the first scout to locate the Miniconjou band. By the time Henry's troops returned to Pine Ridge six days later, the purse had been claimed, the battle of Wounded Knee was history, and Allen, Kelley, and Cressey were war correspondents in the true sense.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER III

[1] V. T. McGillycuddy, letter, January 15, 1891, to L. W. Colby, as cited by L. W. Colby, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

[2] *SecWar, 91*, p. 56.

[3] Senate Document 9, p. 30.

[4] United States Congress (Senate), *Arms in Possession of Indians, 1891*. Senate Executive Document 2, 52nd Congress, 2nd Session (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1892), p. 11. Hereafter cited as Senate Document 2.

[5] Eastman, *op. cit.*, pp. 92, 99.

[6] Bland, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

[7] Senate Document 9, p. 4.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 5.

[9] *SecInt, 91*, p. 125.

[10] *SecWar, 91*, p. 132.

[11] Senate Document 2, p. 6.

[12] Senate Document 9, p. 16.

[13] *SecWar, 91*, p. 145. Commissioner Thomas J. Morgan was on an extensive inspection tour of the western Indian agencies, and Belt was serving as acting commissioner.

[14] *SecInt, 91*, p. 128; Senate Document 2, p. 4.

[15] *SecInt, 91*, p. 128.

[16] Senate Document 9, p. 21; *Omaha Bee*, November 21, 1890, p. 1.

[17] *SecWar, 91*, pp. 143-145.

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 599.

[19] Bland, *op. cit.*, p. 8; Utley, *op. cit.*, pp. 118-120.

[20] Omaha Bee, November 24, 1890, p. 1.

[21] Chicago Tribune, November 16, 1890, p. 1.

[22] Washington Star, November 19, 1890, p. 1.

[23] Omaha Bee, November 22, 1890, p. 1.

[24] Omaha Bee, November 23, 1890, p. 1.

[25] Omaha Bee, November 24, 1890, p. 1.

[26] New York Herald, November 21, 1890, p. 3, and November 23, p. 3; New York World, November 22, 1890, p. 1, and November 23, p. 1; St. Louis Globe-Democrat, November 24, 1890, p. 1; Chicago Inter-Ocean, November 23, 1890, p. 1; St. Paul Pioneer-Press, November 22, 1890, p. 1; Washington Star, November 24, 1890, p. 7.

[27] Chicago Tribune, November 23, 1890, p. 1; Chicago Inter-Ocean, November 24, 1890, p. 2.

[28] Chicago Inter-Ocean, November 25, 1890, p. 1.

[29] Washington Star, November 22, 1890, p. 13; New York Herald, November 22, 1890, p. 3; New York World, November 22, 1890, p. 7; Chicago Tribune, November 22, 1890; p. 1; St. Paul Pioneer-Press, November 22, 1890, p. 1.

[30] Charles W. Allen, letter, March 9, 1941, to Elmo Scott Watson, Watson Papers.

[31] New York Herald, November 24, 1890, p. 4.

[32] This article, signed by Boylan, appeared November 25, 1890, p. 1.

[33] This article was probably authored by Bailey, since it is datelined the day he arrived at the agency and is credited as a "special telegram." It was published November 25, 1890, p. 1.

[34] Signed by Cressey, this article appeared November 24, 1890, p. 1.

[35] Omaha Bee, November 24, 1890, p. 1, and November 25, pp. 1, 4.

[36] Lea to Cooper, November 22, 1890, as cited in Senate Document 9, p. 29; Cooper to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, November 25, 1890, as cited in Senate Document 9, p. 33; Royer to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, November 26, 1890, as cited in Senate Document 9, p. 43.

[37] J. M. Sweeney, letter, November 22, 1890, to D. F. Royer, Watson Papers.

[38] Eastman, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

[39] *Omaha Bee*, November 26, 1890, p. 1.

[40] *Washington Star*, February 9, 1891, p. 6; *Chicago Tribune*, November 23, 1890, p. 1.

[41] *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, December 30, 1890, p. 1. There is evidence that the Army's censorship policy was not limited to Pine Ridge. On November 22, a *New York Herald* correspondent wired his editors from Standing Rock Agency that because of censorship on the army's wire at that agency it was impossible to telegram facts on events there. (*Herald*, November 22, 1890, p. 3.)

[42] *Nebraska State Journal*, November 28, 1890, p. 1. Although the source of this information is Kelley, whose information should be viewed in light of his paper's competition (in spirit if not in circulation) with the Omaha papers, the behavior of both the Omaha reporters makes it likely that Brooke did have a talk with them.

[43] *Chicago Tribune*, November 25, 1890, p. 1; *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, November 29, 1890, p. 1; *Omaha Bee*, November 27, 1890, p. 1; *St. Paul Pioneer-Press*, November 27, 1890, p. 1.

[44] Utley, *op. cit.*, p. 119.

[45] *St. Paul Pioneer-Press*, November 29, 1890, p. 1; *Chicago Tribune*, November 28, 1890, p. 1.

[46] *Nebraska State Journal*, November 27, 1890, p. 1.

[47] *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, November 29, 1890, p. 1.

[48] Royer and Cooper to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, November 20, 1890, as cited in Senate Document 9, p. 44.

[49] *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, December 2, 1890, p. 2. Although datelined November 29, the story was not published until December 2. This article is an excellent example of Bailey's grasp of the situation at Pine Ridge. In an interview on December 17, General Miles told a correspondent in Rapid City, "A movement of troops from Pine Ridge was impractical because the Indians would have scattered and harassed the settlers." (*Omaha Bee*, December 18, 1890, p. 1.)

[50] *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, December 4, 1890, p. 4.

[51] *St. Paul Pioneer-Press*, November 30, 1890, p. 1.

[52] Department of the Interior, Census Office, *Report on Indians Taxed and Not Taxed in the U. S. at the Eleventh Census, 1890*. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1894) pages unnumbered; R. V. Belt, letter, December 5, 1890, to the Secretary of the Interior, as cited in Senate Document 2, p. 23; Mooney, *op. cit.*, pp. 851-852, 892.

[53] Royer and Cooper to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, November 30, 1890, as cited in Senate Document 9, p. 46.

[54] *Omaha Bee*, November 29, 1890, p. 1; *St. Paul Pioneer-Press*, November 29, 1890, p. 1; *New York Herald*, November 29, 1890, p. 3.

[55] Royer and Cooper to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, December 1, 1890, as cited in Senate Document 9, p. 46.

[56] *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, December 1, 1890, p. 1; *St. Paul Pioneer-Press*, December 1, 1890, p. 1; *Nebraska State Journal*, December 1, 1890, p. 1; *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, December 2, 1890, p. 3.

[57] *Omaha World-Herald*, December 2, 1890, p. 6; *New York Herald*, December 2, 1890, p. 9. Smith's departure from Pine Ridge was covered in detail in a series of articles in the *World-Herald* from November 29 through December 4 in which the build-up of his expulsion is discussed in detail including published telegrams between the paper and Smith, and the paper and Royer. Brooke was also apparently annoyed by Smith, and on November 29 told him that he might as well go home as far as getting news was concerned. Smith returned to Pine Ridge January 4.

[58] *Chicago Tribune*, December 3, 1890, p. 2; *New York World*, December 3, 1890, p. 1.

[59] Royer to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, December 3, 1890, as cited in Senate Document 9, p. 49; Nebraska State Journal, December 3, 1890, p. 1.

[60] The following newspapers carried all or part of Cressey's story: Omaha Bee, December 4, 1890, p. 1; Chicago Times, December 4, 1890, p. 2; New York World, December 5, 1890, p. 1; Chicago Inter-Ocean, December 4, 1890, p. 1; St. Louis Globe-Democrat, December 4, 1890, p. 2; Duluth Tribune, December 4, 1890, p. 1.

[61] Chicago Inter-Ocean, December 4, 1890, p. 1.

[62] Chicago Inter-Ocean, December 8, 1890, p. 1.

[63] Henry, op. cit., p. 1274.

[64] Omaha World-Herald, December 20, 1890, p. 2. It cannot be determined who the World-Herald reporter was. The Tibbles' dispatches continued to be datelined Pine Ridge during this period, and there is no indication that Smith returned to the Indian reservations until early in January.

[65] Nebraska State Journal, December 10, 1890, p. 1.

[66] Allen MS, Chapter 22; Chicago Inter-Ocean, December 11, 1890, p. 6.

[67] Omaha Bee, December 5, 1890, p. 1.

[68] Omaha Bee, December 6, 1890, p. 1; Chicago Inter-Ocean, December 6, 1890, p. 1; Chicago Tribune, December 7, 1890, p. 3; New York Herald, December 7, 1890, p. 3.

[69] Chicago Inter-Ocean, December 7, 1890, p. 1.

[70] Nebraska State Journal, December 7, 1890, p. 1.

[71] St. Louis Globe-Democrat, December 7, 1890, p. 4; Chicago Tribune, December 8, 1890, p. 8; Miles to Brooke, December 7, 1890, as cited by Robert Utley, op. cit., p. 139.

[72] Chicago Inter-Ocean, December 9, 1890, p. 1.

[73] Nebraska State Journal, December 10, 1890, p. 1.

[74] Statement of Louis Shangreau to Warren K. Moorehead, as cited by Warren K. Moorehead, The American Indian in The United States, 1850-1914 (Andover, Massachusetts:

[59] Royer to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, December 2, 1890, as cited in Senate Document 9, p. 49; Rapid City Black Hills Journal, December 2, 1890, p. 2.

[60] The following newspapers carried all or parts of Cressey's story: Omaha Bee, December 4, 1890, p. 1; Chicago Times, December 4, 1890, p. 1; New York World, December 5, 1890, p. 1; Chicago Inter-Ocean, December 4, 1890, p. 1; St. Louis Globe-Democrat, December 4, 1890, p. 2; Duluth Tribune, December 4, 1890, p. 1.

[61] Chicago Inter-Ocean, December 4, 1890, p. 2.

[62] Chicago Inter-Ocean, December 6, 1890, p. 1.

[63] Mooney, op. cit., p. 874.

[64] Omaha World-Herald, December 20, 1890, p. 2. It cannot be determined who the World-Herald reporter was. The Tribune's dispatches continued to be published from Pine Ridge during this period, and there is no indication that Welch returned to the Indian reservations until early in January.

[65] Rapid City Black Hills Journal, December 10, 1890, p. 1.

[66] Allen MS, Chapter 23; Chicago Inter-Ocean, December 11, 1890, p. 6.

[67] Omaha Bee, December 5, 1890, p. 1.

[68] Omaha Bee, December 6, 1890, p. 1; Chicago Inter-Ocean, December 6, 1890, p. 1; Chicago Tribune, December 7, 1890, p. 5; New York Herald, December 7, 1890, p. 3.

[69] Chicago Inter-Ocean, December 7, 1890, p. 2.

[70] Rapid City Black Hills Journal, December 7, 1890, p. 1.

[71] St. Louis Globe-Democrat, December 7, 1890, p. 1; Chicago Tribune, December 8, 1890, p. 9; Miles to Brooke, December 7, 1890, as cited by Robert Utley, op. cit., p. 137.

[72] Chicago Inter-Ocean, December 9, 1890, p. 1.

[73] Rapid City Black Hills Journal, December 10, 1890, p. 1.

[74] Statement of Louis Shangrau to Warren K. Moorehead, as cited by Warren K. Moorehead, The American Indian in the United States, 1850-1914 (Andover, Massachusetts:

Andover Press, 1914), p. 118. This account is also contained in several other sources, including Bland, *op. cit.*, p. 9; and James P. Boyd, *Recent Indian Wars* (Philadelphia: Publisher's Union, 1892), pp. 205-210.

[75] *Chicago Tribune*, December 12, 1890, p. 1; *Nebraska State Journal*, December 12, 1890, p. 1.

[76] *St. Paul Pioneer-Press*, December 11, 1890, p. 1; *New York Herald*, December 12, 1890, p. 4; *Omaha Bee*, December 12, 1890, p. 1; *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, December 12, 1890, p. 1. Cressey's dispatch was much less vivid than most of his material, and in view of this it may be significant that most editors chose not to use his story.

[77] Brooke to Miles, as cited by the *Washington Star*, December 12, 1890, p. 1, and *New York Herald*, December 12, 1890, p. 4; Miles to the Department of the Army, as cited in the *New York Herald* December 12, 1890, p. 4.

[78] *Omaha World-Herald*, December 12, 1890, p. 1; *New York Herald*, December 13, 1890, p. 7.

[79] *Duluth Tribune*, December 14, 1890, p. 1; *Chicago Tribune*, December 13, 1890, p. 1; and others.

[80] *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, December 13, 1890, p. 1.

[81] *SecWar*, *91*, p. 233. It is not the purpose of this study to ascertain whether or not Big Foot sought a conflict with the government forces, but an excellent discussion of the subject is contained in Robert Utley's book (*op. cit.*, pp. 173-199).

[82] *Omaha Bee*, December 12, 1890, p. 1; *Nebraska State Journal*, December 13, 1890, p. 1.

[83] Moorehead, *op. cit.*, p. 118. Moorehead dates the arrival of Two Strike at Pine Ridge as December 15, but several other sources agree it was the 16th.

[84] Miles to Schofield, as cited by the *Chicago Tribune*, December 18, 1890, p. 1.

[85] Tibbles, *op. cit.*, p. 305; Elmo Scott Watson, "Pine Ridge, 1890-1891," *Westerners Brand Book*, Denver Posse, 1946, p. 7. Hereafter cited as Watson, "Pine Ridge."

[86] Allen *MS*, Chapter 22.

Hereafter cited as Watson, "Pine Ridge."

[87] Edgar Medary, letter, January 14, 1944, to Elmo Scott Watson, Watson Papers.

[88] *New York World*, December 12 and December 14, 1890, p. 1, and January 1, 1891, p. 1. (The possible identity of this reporter is discussed in Chapter II, p. 49.)

[89] Utley, *op. cit.*, p. 143; *Omaha Bee*, December 14, 1890, p. 1; *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, December 18, 1890, p. 1.

[90] *New York World*, December 18, 1890, p. 1.

[91] *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, December 20, 1890, p. 1.

[92] *Omaha Bee*, December 19, 1890, p. 1; *Washington Star*, December 19, p. 1.

[93] Mooney, *op. cit.*, p. 861; Robinson, *op. cit.*, p. 483.

[94] *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, December 21, 1890, p. 1; *New York Herald*, December 21, 1890, p. 5.

[95] *SecWar*, *91*, p. 229; Utley, *op. cit.*, p. 175; Mooney, *op. cit.*, p. 860.

[96] *Omaha World-Herald*, December 19, 1890, p. 1; *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, December 19, 1890, p. 1, and December 22, p. 2.

[97] *Omaha Bee*, December 20, 1890, p. 1.

[98] *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, December 19, 1890, p. 2.

[99] Tibbles, *op. cit.*, p. 302.

[100] Allen *MS*, Chapter 22.

[101] *Washington Star*, February 9, 1890, p. 6.

[102] *Nebraska State Journal*, December 14, 1890, p. 1.

[103] *Omaha Bee*, November 18, 1890, p. 2.

[104] *New York Herald*, January 9, 1890, p. 3.

[105] *Chicago Tribune*, December 21, 1890, p. 3; *Washington Star*, December 20, 1890, p. 6; *St. Paul Pioneer-Press*, December 21, 1890, p. 1.

[106] *Nebraska State Journal*, December 20, 1890, p. 1, and December 22, p. 1.

[107] *Nebraska State Journal*, December 21, 1890, p. 1; *Omaha Bee*, December 21, 1890, p. 1.

[108] *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, December 24, 1890, p. 2.

[109] Allen *MS*, Chapter 22.

[110] *Omaha Bee*, December 23, 1890, p. 1; *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, December 23, 1890, p. 2.

[111] *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, December 24, 1890, p. 2; *Washington Star*, December 23, 1890, p. 5; *Chicago Tribune*, December 23, 1890, p. 1; *New York World*, December 24, 1890, p. 3; and others.

[112] *Nebraska State Journal*, December 25, 1890, p. 1.

[113] *SecWar*, *91*, pp. 209-212.

[114] Henry, *op. cit.*, p. 1273.

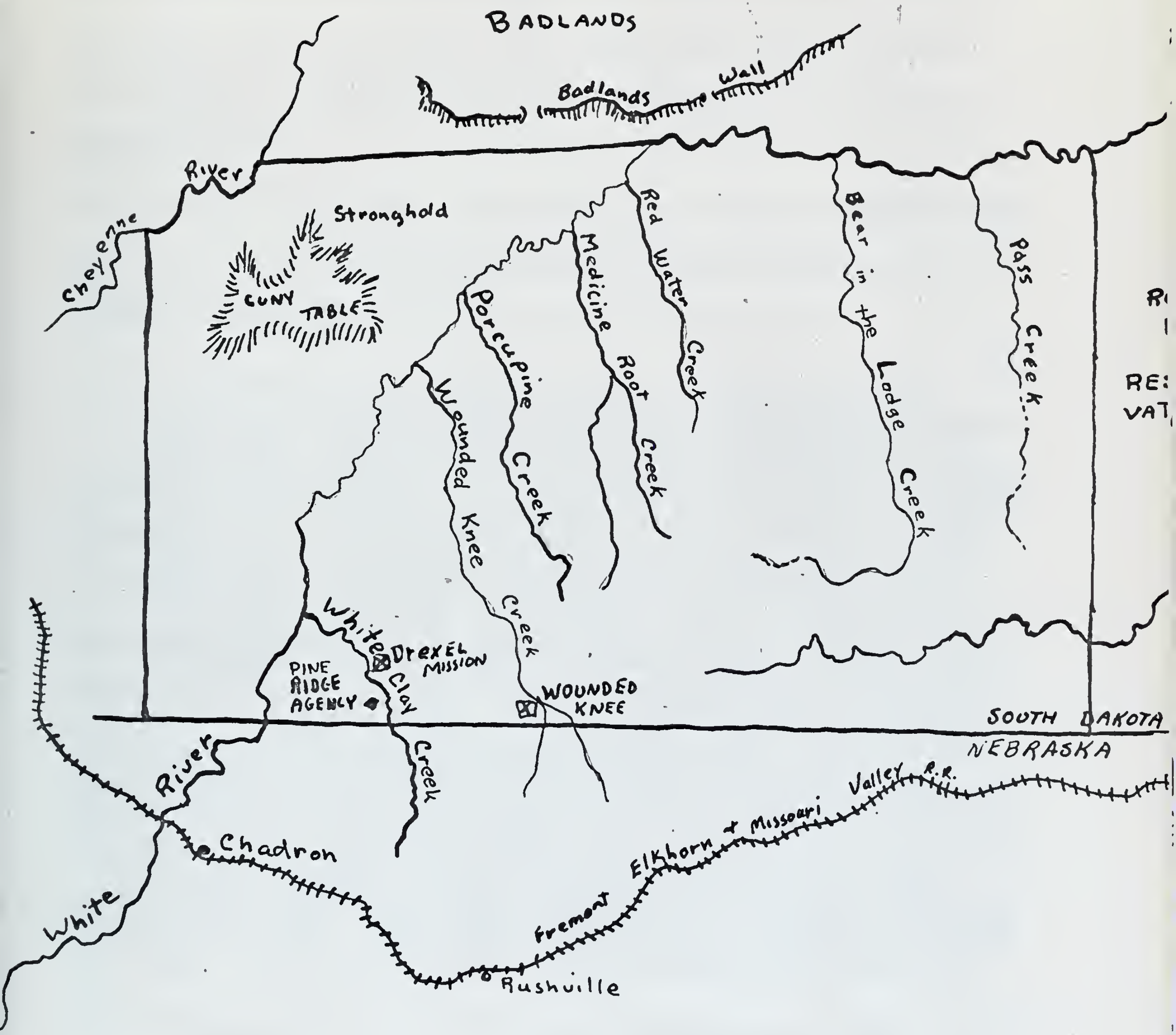
CHAPTER IV

THE BATTLE OF WOUNDED KNEE

The departure of Colonel Henry and his troops for the Badlands brought a sense of urgency to Pine Ridge that the newsmen had not seen since the arrival of Father Jutz with the hostile chiefs on December 6. On December 27, at least two newspapers carried a dispatch from an unidentified reporter at the agency, possibly O'Brian of Associated Press, who wrote that the inadequate system of governing Indians had at last crystallized, making war inevitable. He predicted that there would be a battle between Henry's Ninth and the hostiles in the Badlands within 48 hours.[1]

The press corps at Pine Ridge began packing to join the troops in the field. When Major Samuel M. Whitside with a battalion of the Seventh Cavalry left Pine Ridge for Wounded Knee December 26, he was joined by Cressey of the *Bee*, Bailey of the *Inter-Ocean*, both Allen and Burkholder of the *New York Herald*, and an unidentified *Globe-Democrat* reporter. The Seventh's camp at Wounded Knee quickly took on the appearance of a carnival rather than an advanced cavalry base. When Burkholder and Allen arrived at the camp in their rented buckboard, they were greeted by a collection of soldiers, newsmen, and sight-seers from as

Annual Report of the Secretary of War 1891


BADLANDS
Badlands Wall
Cheyenne River
Stronghold
CUNY TABLE
Red Water Creek
Medicine Root Creek
Porcupine Creek
Wounded Knee Creek
Bear in the Lodge Creek
Pass Creek
White Clay Creek
Drexel Mission
PINE RIDGE AGENCY
WOUNDED KNEE
SOUTH DAKOTA
NEBRASKA
White River
Chadron
Rushville
Fremont Elkhorn & Missouri Valley R.R.

Pine Ridge Reservation

Map 2

far away as Rushville and Gordon, Nebraska. It was unseasonably warm, and Allen wrote that they enjoyed the change to an outdoor camp in fine weather.[2]

Bailey arrived at Wounded Knee early the evening of the 26th, and accurately listed the force there as four companies of the Seventh Cavalry and two hotchkiss guns. (Whitside's command was composed of Troops A, B, I, and K, Seventh Cavalry, and two hotchkiss guns of Battery E, First Artillery.)[3] As usual, the Inter-Ocean man was unperturbed by the inaction, and that evening wrote a feature about the field correspondent:

> If any of the younger readers care to know the equipment for the field, here it is: Two blankets under the saddle, one blanket and a piece of canvas on the back of the saddle. In the saddle bags, paper, pencils, envelopes, brush, comb, soap, towel, tin plate, knife and fork, and 200 cartridges. On the saddle, a picket rope, rifle, and tin cup. In the blanket back of the saddle are a fur cap, scarf, German stockings with overshoes, ready for a blizzard. In the pockets are extra handkerchiefs, cigars, matches, and the few extra knicknacks that everyone thinks he needs for the first day or two. . . . For supper, the reporter must depend on some company mess. We eat with Captain Wallace of Company K /later killed at Wounded Knee/, having made satisfactory financial arrangements with the mess sargeant. Our supper tonight was hot coffee, straight, no milk or sugar, hardtack, and bacon fried on the end of a stick; breakfast and dinner will be the same. . . . The Inter-Ocean owns the vilest bucker in the whole outfit. His antics--the broncos--are the admiration of the regiment. Then those pack mules. There is a laugh a rod in their behavior. They are mule all over.[4]

Cressey failed to tell his readers about his transportation to Wounded Knee, but more than likely it was by wagon, for the Bee correspondent was not a horseman.[5]

Unlike Bailey, Cressey counted only three companies of troops and identified one of those incorrectly. He wrote:

> After a very forced march of four and one-half hours in the teeth of a blinding sand storm, General Whiteside /sic/ and troops A, J, and K of the Seventh Cavalry together with several correspondents find themselves making hasty camp here 18 miles northeast of Pine Ridge. . . . Pickets had scarcely been thrown out when they pass in the word from the scouts that the latter are chasing a party of hostiles they found creeping up on our camp as soon as our fires were started.[6]

But, notwithstanding Cressey's hostiles sneaking up on them, the correspondents did not find any action with Whitside, and they drifted back to Pine Ridge the following day (December 27).

On the way back, Allen told Burkholder that he judged the excitement was over, and would return to Chadron as soon as he could pack his gear.

That same evening, Allen was preparing to leave when the Pioneer-Press's Boylan called him aside with information that Big Foot had been sighted and that the remainder of the Seventh Cavalry would be riding to meet the Miniconjous that evening. Boylan asked Allen to join him in accompanying the troops. When Allen told his friend that he no longer worked for the Herald, Boylan convinced him that should something happen he could easily sell his material to one or more of several newspapers. Allen agreed, and delayed his departure for Chadron, but his informant's intelligence was faulty--Big Foot had not yet

been located--and the balance of the Seventh remained at the agency that night.

Ironically, Boylan was called back to St. Paul the next morning, but Allen remained at Pine Ridge. He credits his presence at Wounded Knee the 29th to the Pioneer-Press reporter.[7]

Early December 28, Major Whitside sent Baptiste Garnier (Little Bat) and several Sioux scouts to look for Big Foot's band. Within several hours, they stumbled onto the Miniconjous at Porcupine Creek. Whitside rode out to meet Big Foot, demanded and received his surrender, and arrived near the small Wounded Knee settlement at 2:30 that afternoon.

That evening, the remainder of the Seventh Cavalry--Troops C, D, E, and G--and two more hotchkiss guns of Battery E, First Artillery, rode out from the agency under the command of Colonel James W. Forsyth. When he arrived at Whitside's camp, Forsyth assumed command of all the troops, now totaling about 470 fighting men. The Seventh had been in camp at the agency since November 27th, and 85% of them were green recruits who had no experience in Indian warfare.

Big Foot had been ill with pneumonia for several days, and Forsyth ordered an army tent with a heating stove for the ailing chief. The Seventh's quartermaster issued rations for 380 Indians, about one-third of that number

warriors, and soldiers and Indians moved to their tents and tepees to pass the restless night.[8]

The majority of the newsmen at Pine Ridge saw the surrender of Big Foot as the end of the Sioux disturbance. Burkholder wrote that evening:

> Big Foot and his 120 followers /no doubt Burkholder was referring to the braves only/ were recaptured today by Major Whitside, of the Seventh Cavalry. . . . The hostiles now on their way from the Badlands will probably reach here tomorrow. The Indian troubles may now be said to be practically over, for the time being at all events.[9]

Back to Wounded Knee

The consensus was that the arrival of Kicking Bear and Short Bull at the agency--rumored to be imminent--would be the final Pine Ridge dateline for most of the newsmen, and few chose to join Forsyth on the ride to Wounded Knee. Several, however, made what turned out to be the wiser decision, and followed the remainder of the Seventh to Big Foot's camp.

The World-Herald's Tibbles watched Forsyth's command saddle their horses and ride out of the agency. He decided to join them. It was dark when Tibbles left several hours later with two Sioux friends as partners. A short way from the agency they began to see signal fires and decided that the hostile Indians were also on the move. Tibbles' companions became frightened and returned to the agency. The correspondent pressed on and found the Seventh's camp

at Wounded Knee. After a talk with several officers, he decided that there would be no news at the Miniconjou encampment, and turned back toward Pine Ridge, spending the night of December 28 in an abandoned Indian cabin about a mile from Wounded Knee. Tibbles noted that in spite of press reports of depredations to friendly Indian properties, not even the chickens of his unknown host had been disturbed.[10]

The unemployed Charles Allen also decided to return to Wounded Knee. He was angry when he could not find a horse available for the trip, but finally found an old friend named Swiggart who offered him a wagon ride to Forsyth's camp. Returning to the hotel to pack for an overnight stay, Allen found Kelley and Cressey both saddled up and ready to go. Kelley had his own horse, and Cressey a horse belonging to James Cook that had been left in his care when its owner had gone from the agency on temporary business several days before. Cressey commented, "My, I wish I were getting a ride in a buggy, I'm not used to riding horseback." His wish was granted, and soon Cressey was enroute to Wounded Knee in back of Swiggart's wagon and Allen and Kelley were cantering off to the front on horseback.

Before he left, Allen stopped to see Burkholder, who expressed disappointment that the Herald would not be represented with the Seventh Cavalry, but added that he

understood Allen's decision to market his copy elsewhere.[11]

The news of Big Foot's capture had spread fast, and Allen and Kelley met a variety of people enroute who had come to see the almost legendary Miniconjou band. Among those they met was R. C. Stirk, one time scout for General Crook and in 1890 the owner of a horse ranch near Pine Ridge. They contracted with Stirk to carry their dispatches from Wounded Knee to Rushville should the need arise.[12]

They met Cressey near Forsyth's camp and the three colleagues spread their bed-rolls in the deserted cabin of "old-time friendly Indian" Plenty Bear. Unlike Tibbles, they found their temporary shelter bare except for three iron cots. Before bedding down, the trio rode to the camp of the Seventh Cavalry and joined a group of officers, including Forsyth, in the tent of Captain George D. Wallace, unaware that their host was soon to be the victim of an Indian bullet.[13] When they returned to Plenty Bear's cabin late that night, everything pointed to a peaceful conclusion to the threatened Indian uprising of 1890.

The Battle of Wounded Knee

The three newsmen were up at daybreak on December 29, and Allen noted the absence of the usual worshipful sunrise singing of the Sioux. They made their way to the army camp and joined several soldiers in a

leisurely breakfast of coffee, bacon, and hardtack. About 7 a.m., they met Tibbles, who had ridden down for one last look before returning to Pine Ridge. The World-Herald man commented that trouble was unlikely when the Indians were so greatly outnumbered, and he started back to the agency telling his three companions as he left that if there was trouble that day it would be when Short Bull and Kicking Bear arrived in the friendly camp at Pine Ridge.[14]

Forsyth was determined not to allow Big Foot to escape a second time, and began positioning his troops around the Sioux camp at 8 a.m. in preparation for disarming the braves. Most of his troops were within 300 yards of the Indian camp when the Colonel ordered the braves assembled and informed them as pleasantly as possible that they were to be disarmed.[15]

As the newsmen moved toward the council ring where the Indians and troops were assembling, Allen noticed that there were many spectators gathered and their buggies were parked among the soldiers' tents and along the road north of the camp.

The Indians were divided into groups of 20 and the first group was sent to their tepees to bring their weapons. They returned with several rusty old rifles. After further counsel with the still recalcitrant Big Foot, who had been carried on a stretcher to parley with Forsyth and Whitside, the Colonel ordered the camp searched by

details of troops led by his officers.[16] Cressey and Kelley remained in the council circle with Forsyth and Whitside, and Allen joined his old friends Little Bat and William Shangreau (brother of Louis), who were assisting in the search as interpreters.

As they moved from tepee to tepee, Allen watched a group of eight or ten small Indian boys playing unconcerned on a grassy stretch adjacent to the camp.[17]

By 9:30 a.m., most of the tepees had been searched and the troops still had only about 50 rifles. Forsyth decided to have each blanket-draped brave inspected. As the search began, Lieutenant James D. Mann (fatally wounded at Drexel Mission the following day) watched as some of the braves began drifting toward the outside of the council ring, and cautioned his troops to be alert.

Throughout the morning, Miniconjou medicine man and ghost dance advocate Yellow Bird had been haranguing the band to resist disarmament.[18] Allen paused to watch Yellow Bird, and commented later that he was as great an orator as he had ever listened to, even though he understood little of what the medicine man was saying.[19] As he watched, Yellow Bird bent over, and scooping up a handful of dirt, scattered it in the air, imploring the Great Spirit to scatter the soldiers likewise. Allen turned to rejoin the searchers who were checking the last few tepees, noting that the group of spectators had grown. He emptied his

pipe and was putting it into his coat pocket when he heard the medicine man voice a particularly loud exhortation. Little Bat yelled, "Look out, Charlie," and Allen followed his two companions as they broke into a run just as an Indian fired a single shot. What he heard next reminded Allen of dry popcorn in a hot pan. As he ran after his colleagues, Allen's attention was momentarily caught by the spectators, some leaping for their buggies and others whipping their horses to action toward the trading post one-quarter mile from the camp.[20]

Cressey and Kelley with Forsyth and Whitside were close to Yellow Bird when the shooting began. Fortunately, most of the Indians were firing in the opposite direction and the four escaped uninjured. In the melee that followed, only Allen left a detailed account of his movements, but Kelley left a reputation as an Indian fighter. The _State-Journal_ reporter picked up a rifle from a fallen soldier and shot an Indian headed his way. Witnesses say he killed two more braves before emptying the rifle and a pistol he carried. Kelley became the unquestioned champion Indian fighter among the correspondents.[21]

Although Cressey apparently left no substantiating witnesses to his activity, he too claims to have added to the army's firepower. When the shooting began, he broke for a line of picketed horses. Emptying his rifle at the Indians, he reloaded and ran for the army camp, firing as

he went.[22] He reached the camp unscathed and sat back to rest.

Allen admitted that he had no interest in being a hero, and instead was doing his best to catch the rapidly disappearing Little Bat. Before he had gone far, Allen glanced back at the area where seconds before the council had been in progress, and was startled by the number of dead and wounded on both sides already littering the battle field. Plagued by cross-fire, he worked his way through a ravine and crawled across an open area, drawing fire from troopers who said later they saw his long coat and yellow leggings and thought that he was an Indian. Realizing that he still held his pipe in his hand, Allen dropped it, reconsidered, and crawled back to get it before moving on toward the not so friendly army lines. When he reached the troopers, they congratulated him for not being killed by their own fire. The reporter borrowed a plug of tobacco, took a chew, and settled back to collect his thoughts.[23]

Thomas Tibbles was on a leisurely ride back to Pine Ridge on what he described as the laziest beast he had ever mounted when he heard the shooting begin. He made a quick evaluation of the situation and decided to ride on to Pine Ridge so that he could get his story to Rushville ahead of the others. He spurred his pony to no avail.

The _World-Herald_ correspondent was eventually overtaken by two friendly Sioux who urged him to turn back to

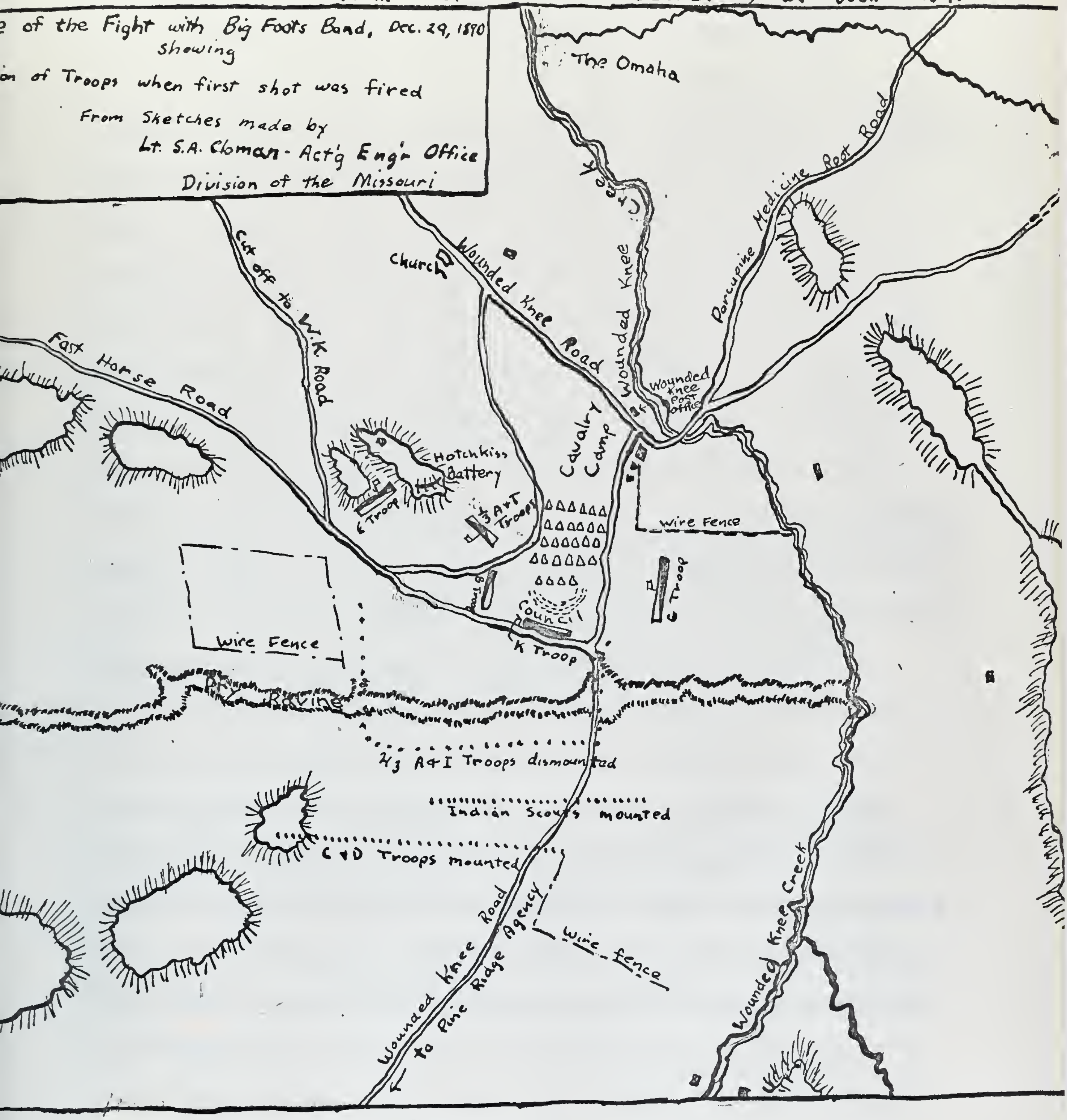
the safety of the cavalry camp, but he refused. His Sioux friends followed him, taking turns lashing the reporter's pony on toward Pine Ridge. Tibbles and his companions met two other groups of braves, these in war paint, but they did not stop.[24]

He reached the agency about noon, wrote a brief account of the battle from what sparse information he had, and after some difficulty found a courier to take his dispatch to Rushville, paying the rider "an exorbitant sum." His brief and incomplete account was probably the first from the Pine Ridge newsmen to reach any newspaper.

When Charles Allen had calmed his nerves, he set out to view the battlefield. The scene was a gruesome one. Big Foot's campsite was littered with dead and wounded soldiers and Indian men, women, and children. Old Chief Big Foot lay dead by the entrance to his tepee, a white truce flag fluttering nearby. The small boys Allen had watched lay lifeless where they had played, and he heard sporadic gunfire in the distance.[25]

Of the 120 braves with Big Foot, about 90 had been slain, and of the over 200 women and children, only 39 had been accounted for alive the following day, and 21 of those were wounded. Probably some of the remainder escaped, but the most reliable estimates put the Indian casualties at about 250 men, women, and children.[26] If not a massacre--the Indians were not only armed, but had started the

Annual Report of the Secretary of War 1891



e of the Fight with Big Foots Band, Dec. 29, 1890
showing
on of Troops when first shot was fired
From Sketches made by
Lt. S.A. Cloman - Act'g Eng'r Office
Division of the Missouri

The Omaha
Wounded Knee Creek
Porcupine Medicine Root Road
Church
Wounded Knee Road
Cut off to W.K. Road
Fast Horse Road
Wounded Knee Post Office
Cavalry Camp
Hotchkiss Battery
G Troop
1/3 A+I Troops
B Troop
Council
K Troop
E Troop
Wire Fence
Wire Fence
Dry Ravine
2/3 A+I Troops dismounted
Indian Scouts mounted
C+D Troops mounted
Wounded Knee Road
to Pine Ridge Agency
Wire fence
Wounded Knee Creek

Scale: 1 in = 150 yards

Map 3

battle--the encounter with Big Foot was certainly a rout.

Allen, Cressey, and Kelley Write Their Stories

Amid the returning sight-seers, Allen met Will Cressey, and the two correspondents decided to work together gathering and tabulating information on the day's activities. Although they tried to determine the extent of casualties among the troops, they were obviously not very successful, for by the time they wrote their stories, they had accounted for only two dead cavalrymen. It was not until later that they learned that in addition to Wallace, 29 soldiers had been killed (or wounded seriously enough that they died subsequently). In addition, a Roman Catholic priest, Father Francis Craft, had been stabbed by an Indian and was seriously wounded, and interpreter Philip Wells had his nose almost severed by a knife-wielding brave.[27]

The three newsmen had arranged for working space in a small windowless building behind the trading post at Wounded Knee. As he returned there with Cressey, Allen decided to send his material exclusively to the Herald in payment for all of the weeks they had paid him a salary for what he termed rumor chasing. His decision was in keeping with other evidence that he was a man of unusual principle and integrity.

When they arrived at their "office," Cressey and Allen were joined by Kelley, and the three newsmen wrote their copy, Cressey and Allen at one table and Kelley at a

second, sharing what information they had gathered. Their courier, R. C. Stirk, arrived just as they completed their dispatches, and set out for Rushville with all three stories about 5 p.m. By 8 p.m.--just ten hours after the first shots were fired--the copy was started across the wire from Rushville. It was Kelley's fortune that his copy was transmitted first by the single operator at Rushville, and the Nebraska State Journal was the first to receive a full account of the battle. Wire editor Hugh McVicker put Kelley's dispatch on the United Press wire out of Lincoln, and the nation learned of the destruction of Big Foot's band of Miniconjous.[28]

That evening, Kelley and Allen rode back to Pine Ridge alongside the wagon train carrying the dead and wounded--both soldiers and Indians--back to the agency. Cressey rode with Swiggart in the buggy.

The Stories From Wounded Knee

The stories from the battle at Wounded Knee were almost anticlimactic. There was much less of the flowery writing that marked a great deal of the previous copy from the agency. With the exception of a few factual errors probably born of the excitement, and one more serious error by Kelley, the stories were straightforward, competent, and surprisingly brief.

Cressey showed a marked change in style, and this time his story was not only the most widely used, but also

the most professionally written and reserved of those to come from Wounded Knee. The Bee correspondent's story began almost matter-of-factly:

> The remaining four troops of the Seventh Cavalry arrived from Pine Ridge last night. At 8 o'clock this morning, General Forsyth /sic/ issued orders to have the 150 male Indians who had been prisoners called from the tepees, saying he wanted to talk to them. They obeyed slowly and sullenly and ranged in a semi-circle in front of the tent where Big Foot, their chief, lay sick with pneumonia. By twenties they were ordered to give up their arms. The first 20 went to their tents and came back with only two guns. This irritated Major Whitside, who was superintending this part of the work. After a hasty consultation with General Forsyth, he gave the order for the cavalrymen . . . to close in. . . . About a dozen of the warriors had been searched when like a flash all of the rest of them jerked guns from under their blankets and began pouring bullets into the ranks of the soldiers. . . . Their first volley was almost as one man, so that they must have fired 100 shots before the soldiers fired one, but, oh! how they were slaughtered after their first volley.[29]

Although most testimony agrees with Allen that there was first a single shot before the volley, Cressey can be excused for overlooking that detail in view of the excitement.

There is no evidence of how much of the Bee's story was Cressey's and how much was his editors', but in view of the apparent inattention (or incompetent attention) given Cressey's previous copy, it seems only just to give the often ridiculed Bee reporter the benefit of the doubt. At any rate, by the following day he had returned to his old habits.

The Bee's story from Wounded Knee was published in

St. Louis, Philadelphia, Duluth, New York, Washington, Chicago, St. Paul, and no doubt in many other large cities in the United States.

Allen's story, sent exclusively to the Herald, was almost prosaic. His lead sentence read:

> There is an anticlimax to the capture of Big Foot and his braves, the announcement of which in last night's dispatches put the question of the Indian troubles in so satisfactory a light.

In an inaccuracy common to all three reporters' stories that day, and difficult to justify considering their presence on the scene, Allen listed only two soldiers as being killed. It was not until the following day that he sent the Herald an accurate list of killed and wounded.[30]

William Kelley also spoke with a calm voice from Wounded Knee, although his story was less concise than those of his two friends. His dispatch began:

> Bright and early were the troops up this morning. Little they thought as they ate their hardtack, that ere two hours had passed many of their comrades would be dead, the victims of treacherous Indians.

There followed an account similar to Cressey's and Allen's, although Kelley's dispatch did include one major inaccuracy that can hardly be excused. Continuing his penchant for long sentences, he wrote:

> Another laurel is added to the wreath of the famous old Seventh Regiment of Cavalry; every man among them a veteran; scarce one that has not distinguished himself

> by some . . . act of valor, some deed of daring in the Indian campaigns of the last twenty years, nearly, if not all of them, having been a participant.[31]

An alert reporter who had been with the Seventh Cavalry at Pine Ridge for over a month could hardly have missed the fact that over three-quarters of them were recruits, most having never seen an Indian camp until they arrived at the agency.[32]

Kelley's story was printed in papers in Chicago, St. Louis, Omaha, Denver, and probably in many other cities.

The Stories From Pine Ridge

When Managing Editor Robert Peattie of the *World-Herald* saw Tibbles' story, he cursed his reporter for not having returned to Wounded Knee when the fighting began. He rewrote the Tibbles dispatch and ran it along with Kelley's from the United Press wire. The *World-Herald* correspondent's story, at least as it appeared when Peattie was through with it, was similar to others from the agency.[33]

The other Pine Ridge correspondents sent stories to their papers as the facts were assembled. Most were factual if occasionally dressed with insignificant description that must have come either from witnesses returning from the battle or from the reporters' recollections of the Seventh Cavalry gained from their close association with the troops while at Pine Ridge.

One other significant story appeared December 30. Less than 60 miles from Pine Ridge, editor of the _Hot Springs_ (South Dakota) _Herald_ Edgar Medary sifted a story from incoming rumors, set the type, and ran off an extra edition on an old-fashioned hand-operated press. His straightforward, accurate, and calm account of the battle was probably the first to actually see print. While those at Pine Ridge were preparing their alarming follow-on stories to their more placid accounts of the actual battle, Medary wrote:

> The Indians are now hemmed in on all sides by an overpowering force of soldiers, and the contest, if it comes to a general uprising, will be brief and decisive.[34]

Medary arrived at Pine Ridge the second week in January and joined Burkholder and Allen as the third _New York Herald_ correspondent at Pine Ridge.

Criticism of the Battle

Criticism of the army's behavior at Wounded Knee was varied. As might be expected, Tibbles and the _World-Herald_ championed the cause of the slaughtered Indians. On the other hand, Kelley, who had been so critical of the government's policies at Pine Ridge, sided with Forsyth. He wrote:

> It was an awful lesson, but no man who saw the whole affair will say that it could, by any possibility,

> terminate differently. The articles to be seen in some newspapers claiming the affair to be a slaughter and without provocation is /sic/ utterly untrue and without foundation.[35]

Probably the most accurate and concise observation came from the Indian Rights Association. Although a source with an obvious pro-Indian bias, the Association presented an honest evaluation, writing:

> The IRA has taken the ground . . . that the officer in command did all in his power to avert a conflict; that the Indians were in the beginning wholly at fault and deliberately fired upon the troops, and that the large number of women and children killed and wounded suffered through accident in the melee, or because they themselves were combatants; but . . . the fact that the bodies of women and children were found several miles from the scene of the conflict and appeared to have been shot down when fleeing, puts a different face upon that part of the affair. It would appear that some soldiers deliberately and without excuse massacred helpless women and children.[36]

Back at Pine Ridge

Within hours of the battle, the hundreds of canvas tepees of the Oglalas camped around the agency disappeared as the Sioux fled in panic, many for a second time, to the natural fortress of the Badlands. Few troops were left at the agency, and until they were reinforced by those returning from the field, there was a genuine threat. Snipers from the disappearing Indian camp fired into the agency buildings periodically throughout the day, and it was all that Brooke could do to keep the few soldiers that remained and the Indian police from firing indiscriminately

at the departing Sioux.

Burkholder watched the troops bring an artillery piece to bear on the frightened Indians as they fled, and later told Allen that Brooke had personally dashed up and told them not to fire. When they tried to persuade the General that the Indians were their enemies, Brooke replied, "No, those people are not fighting us, they are friends scared into a rout and a shot among them would be murder."[37]

As Burkholder was trading stories with Allen, the *Herald*'s chief reporter was handed a telegram, and Allen noted it was addressed to both of them as was the *Herald*'s policy when he had worked for them. Burkholder passed it to Allen, and the Chadron editor was pleased to see that it contained a generous compliment from Bennett, and implied that as far as the *Herald* was concerned, Allen had never left their payroll.[38]

On the 30th, a band of hostiles set fire to a school near the Drexel Mission four miles from the agency. A small force under Forsyth rode out to engage them. Before the battle was over, Henry and his Ninth Cavalry, just returned from their foray north after a 90-mile dash, rode to assist Forsyth. One soldier was killed and Lieutenant Mann and several soldiers wounded in the skirmish. Mann died of his wounds several days later.[39]

Before the troops returned, several correspondents

sent dispatches saying that there was an unconfirmed rumor that the mission had been burned and its occupants massacred by the hostile Sioux, but most of them expressed doubt, and all subsequently published a factual account.

On the evening of the 30th, Tibbles could not find a courier to carry his dispatch to Rushville, so he made the trip himself and returned that same evening.[40]

With the flight of the Indians to the Badlands, and several minor skirmishes with small bands of Indians near the agency, came more threatening stories, and more newsmen from the east.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER IV

[1] St. Louis Globe-Democrat, December 27, 1890, p. 1; Omaha World-Herald, December 27, 1890, p. 1.

[2] Details of Whitside's movements are from his report to the Regimental Adjutant, Seventh Cavalry, January 1, 1891, a copy of which is in the Watson Papers. Hereafter cited as Whitside Report. The material on Allen and Burkholder is from the Allen MS, Chapter 24.

[3] Chicago Inter-Ocean, December 28, 1890, p. 1; Whitside Report; John C. Gresham, "The Story of Wounded Knee," Harper's Weekly, 35 (February 7, 1891), p. 106.

[4] Chicago Inter-Ocean, December 28, 1890, p. 1; December 30, p. 2. Both articles are datelined December 26.

[5] Allen MS, Chapter 24.

[6] Omaha Bee, December 28, 1890, p. 1. Although the story is unsigned, one Bee man is known to have been with Henry north of Wounded Knee, and the style of the story is definitely Cressey's. Whitside spelled his name with only one "e," but the correspondents--or their editors--frequently spelled it Whiteside.

[7] Allen MS, Chapter 24.

[8] Whitside Report; SecWar, 91, pp. 150, 219; Gresham, op. cit., p. 106. Utley gives a complete breakdown of the units at Wounded Knee, by both unit and commanding officer. Although rations were issued for 380 Indians, there were probably less than 350 in Big Foot's band.

[9] New York Herald, December 29, 1890, p. 5.

[10] Tibbles, op. cit., pp. 309-311; Allen MS, Chapter 24.

[11] Allen MS, Chapter 24; Cook, op. cit., p. 205.

[12] Allen MS, Chapter 24; Hugh McVicker, letter, June 6, 1941, to Elmo Scott Watson, Watson Papers.

[13] Allen MS, Chapter 24.

[14] Allen MS, Chapter 25; Charles W. Allen, letter, February 10, 1942, to Elmo Scott Watson, Watson Papers; Tibbles, op. cit., p. 311.

[15] Utley, op. cit., pp. 203-205, details the location of troops when the battle began. A detailed account is also contained in L. S. McCormick Manuscript, E. S. Luce Seventh Cavalry Collection (Fort Leavenworth, Kansas), a portion of which is in the Watson Papers. McCormick was Forsyth's Adjutant at Pine Ridge.

[16] James W. Forsyth, report, December 31, 1890, to Acting Assistant Adjutant General, Department of the Platte, Watson Papers.

[17] Allen MS, Chapter 24.

[18] Utley, op. cit., pp. 210-213.

[19] Charles W. Allen, letter, February 10, 1942, to Elmo Scott Watson, Watson Papers.

[20] Allen MS, Chapter 24.

[21] Washington Star, February 9, 1891, p. 6; Colonel Robert McReynold, as quoted in the Nebraska State Journal, January 14, 1891, p. 1.

[22] Cook, op. cit., p. 205. Cressey gave this account to Cook the next day, and although Cook implies that he did not believe Cressey because a friend told him Cressey had left his rifle in Plenty Bear's cabin and was unarmed, Cressey could easily have picked up a loose weapon. Under the circumstances, there is no reason to doubt Cressey's account of what seems like a logical response to the situation.

[23] Allen MS, Chapter 24.

[24] Tibbles, op. cit., pp. 311-312.

[25] Statement of American Horse to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Thomas Morgan, February 7, 1891, as cited by Bland, op. cit., pp. 15-16.

[26] Mooney, op. cit., p. 891; Brooke to Miles, December 30, 1890, as cited by Boyd, op. cit., p. 254.

[27] SecWar, 91, pp. 154, 600. Both Craft and Wells recovered. In the Watson Papers, there is an excellent photograph of Wells with bandaged face taken shortly after the battle.

[28] Allen *MS*, Chapter 25; Hugh McVicker, letter, June 6, 1941, to Elmo Scott Watson, Watson Papers; Charles W. Allen, letter, January 19, 1942, to Elmo Scott Watson, Watson Papers. McVicker added that the three newsmen had a prior arrangement to stagger the order that their copy was put on the wire at Rushville, and that December 29 was Kelley's turn, explaining why his copy left Rushville first. Watson accepts this ("Jingoism," p. 214), although Allen does not mention it in his manuscript, and in fact provides an alternate explanation of why Kelley's copy was first in a letter to Watson February 10, 1942. Allen wrote: "I am agreeing that Mr. Kelley sent the first news wire. All three dispatches were handed to the telegraph operator at Nebraska's county seat as one package. What could be more natural than that the one written by a Nebraska reporter to a prominent daily paper at the State Capital should be on the wire first?"

[29] *Omaha Bee*, December 30, 1890, p. 1.

[30] *New York Herald*, December 30, 1890, p. 3; December 31, p. 3.

[31] *Nebraska State Journal*, December 30, 1890, p. 1.

[32] Gresham, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

[33] Will Maupin, letter, May 15, 1941, to Elmo Scott Watson, Watson Papers.

[34] Edgar Medary, "A Retrospect," *Publisher's Auxiliary* (Chicago), May 29 and June 5, 1943, p. 3; *Hot Springs* (South Dakota) *Herald*, December 30, 1890 (Extra), p. 1.

[35] *Omaha World-Herald*, December 31, 1890, pp. 1, 4; *Nebraska State Journal*, January 4, 1890, p. 1; Tibbles, *op. cit.*, p. 307.

[36] Indian Rights Association, *The Eighth Annual Report of the Executive Committee of the Indian Rights Association* (Philadelphia: Office of the Indian Rights Association, 1891), p. 12. Underlining is the IRA's.

[37] Allen *MS*, Chapter 26; Burkholder's statement is verified by Tibbles, *op. cit.*, pp. 320-323, and Eastman, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

[38] Allen *MS*, Chapter 26.

[39] *SecWar*, 91, p. 151.

[40] Tibbles, *op. cit.*, p. 324.

CHAPTER V

THE SIOUX NATION BOWS

Early January at Pine Ridge was late November all over again, with two important differences--the Indians were more frightened, and the newsmen were more plentiful.

General Miles arrived at Pine Ridge from Rapid City December 31 and assumed command of the forces there, placing them to surround the panic-stricken Sioux who had fled to a camp on the edge of the Badlands about 15 miles from the agency. Miles estimated the Sioux's strength at 3,000, including about 600 braves.[1]

The flight of the Indians and the potential threat they posed brought a new series of impending war stories from the correspondents. Cressey redefined "hostiles" to include "nearly every able-bodied Indian except the police," and added that Red Cloud and all of the lesser chiefs except American Horse had joined their brethren for the last great fight.[2] Although he had done a creditable job at Wounded Knee, Cressey returned to his previous style. On January 4, he wrote:

> As to the situation here, considered in its entirety, the indications that one of the greatest battles in history is almost at hand are increasing. The report of every scout adds new and strong support to these indications that were only emphasized by the

bloody affairs at Wounded Knee.[3]

Cressey continued to send his editors alarming dispatches until the final surrender of the dissident Indians at Pine Ridge January 15. His alarm was not unique, and each of the correspondents wrote one or more stories in January of impending conflict with the Indians. As had been the case in November and December, their alarm was not always without cause. The situation was uncertain, and although the Sioux were surrounded by Miles's soldiers, the newsmen could not forget that the Miniconjous at Wounded Knee had also been surrounded.

In response to a request from the New York Herald, W. F. (Buffalo Bill) Cody described the situation precisely when he wrote:

> It is like cooling and calming a volcano. . . . At the moment, as far as words go, I would say it will be peace, but the smoldering spark is visible, that may precipitate a terrible conflict any time in the next few days.[4]

Events in January

The general concern caused by the presence of over 3,000 unsettled Sioux so close to the agency was bolstered by a series of events early in January--none of which were particularly significant in themselves, but which collectively kept the specter of war in the air.

On January 1, the first and only civilian killed by Indians, Henry Miller, a cook for the government herders,

was shot by Indians a few miles from the agency. Most of the reporters mentioned the discovery of his mutilated body.

Two days later, an attack was made on a troop of the Sixth Cavalry and two soldiers were slightly wounded.

When the first word of the attack reached the agency, the Nebraska State Journal's Kelley wrote: "It is reported that the Indians had the best of the battle, driving Carr back to the river, killing many of his men and capturing a dozen or so of his cavalry horses."

That dispatch was followed in the same edition by his second wire which read, "The report of Carr's engagement is confirmed. A few Indians were wounded . . . and two soldiers were wounded, but not seriously."[5]

The following day, Colonel Forsyth was relieved of his command by Miles and an investigation ordered into his actions at both Wounded Knee and in the Drexel Mission fight. Miles was not only disturbed by reports of atrocities at Wounded Knee, but was dissatisfied with the disposition of troops by Forsyth at both encounters with the Indians. Forsyth was eventually exonerated, but Miles's action brought stories from most of the correspondents, the majority of them in defense of the Colonel.[6]

On Sunday afternoon, January 4, a rumor was circulated at the agency that the Indians were preparing to overrun Pine Ridge. The result was a rash of new threat stories the following day. Kelley wrote:

> Last night was another one of terror, more terrible than the ones before. . . . Word was sent to the General late in the afternoon that an attack would be made on the place before morning, and an attempt made to burn it.[7]

One of the New York Herald correspondents--Allen or Burkholder--wrote, "Similar rumors have been before circulated here, but have never caused the general feeling of uneasiness that prevailed last night." He continued that the chances of an attack remained good, and that the agency was the Indians' number one target.[8]

On January 6, the St. Paul Pioneer-Press published a story of undisclosed origin that Miles had been killed by the Sioux, and most of the eastern papers repeated it. The press gang at Pine Ridge was quick to deny the report.[9]

Charles Allen and several of his colleagues were idling away the afternoon of January 7 at Finley's hotel when one of the agency quartermasters, who was an old friend of Allen, joined the crowd. After a while, he motioned to Allen to follow him and walked out. Allen joined his friend and learned of the death of Lieutenant E. W. Casey, popular commander of the Cheyenne scouts that had been enlisted at Tongue River Reservation in Montana. Casey had ridden out to view the hostile camp, and was shot by a young Brule brave, Plenty Horses. He was the last casualty of the campaign.

Allen met with Burkholder and the two prepared a brief story for the Herald.

Casey's death brought eulogies from several correspondents. Probably the best was written by Frederic Remington for Harper's Weekly. Remington had been with Casey and his scouts since mid-December, and the artist felt the loss personally.[10]

The incident was added ammunition for the predictors of war, and several days later an unidentified reporter wrote for the Duluth Tribune, "A general battle with the Indians at Pine Ridge is looked for on Sunday. . . . Everyone here anticipates the bloodiest that has ever been fought in this country."[11]

The second week in January, the aged Chief Red Cloud broke away from the hostile camp with his wife and walked to Pine Ridge, arriving the 9th. Although some of the correspondents had accused the nearly blind old chief of trying to return to his old ways when he fled with his tribesmen, there is little evidence that he was more than an innocent victim of the younger braves.[12] When Red Cloud arrived back at Pine Ridge he wrote to his old friend, T. A. Bland:

> The Brules and others all stampeded, and the Brules forced me to go with them. Being in danger of my life between two fires, I had to go with them and follow my family. . . . I tried my best for them to let me go back, but they would not let me go . . . but three nights ago I . . . /escaped/ very late in the night.[13]

The New York Herald reporter's dispatch was typical of the correspondents' reaction to the return of Red Cloud.

He wrote:

> Old Red Cloud came into the agency today. He and his wife left the hostile camp last night and walked the entire distance--16 miles. . . . The arrival of the old man is considered evidence of his good faith.[14]

There was very little else that happened at Pine Ridge between January 10th and the 15th when the Sioux surrendered, but the movement of the Sioux toward the agency began in earnest on the 12th, and that became the subject of the dispatches until the dissidents finally arrived at the agency.

Correspondents Continue to Arrive

Although there was little to write about, correspondents kept arriving at the agency throughout the first two weeks of January. On January 1, the New York World's burly John McDonough arrived from New York. McDonough, who always seemed to be present and wearing his fedora when photographs were being taken, remained at Pine Ridge Agency while on the reservation and left the field work to the World's unidentified correspondent with Carr's command now in the vicinity of Wounded Knee. McDonough was one of the few reporters at the agency who seemed to prefer interviews for opinion expression rather than depending on his own evaluation. In writing one of his early stories he talked with a cavalry officer alleged to have long service among the Indians. His source correctly concluded that the

campaign was rapidly drawing to a close.[15]

The *World* man was the first of at least eight correspondents who arrived at the agency for the first time in January. Three others who had been at Pine Ridge earlier returned--Frederic Remington representing *Harper's Weekly* (December 31), Carl Smith of the *Omaha World-Herald* (January 4), and the *Chicago Herald*'s Charles Seymour (January 6).

The *Omaha World-Herald* had the largest staff of identified correspondents at the agency. On January 2, W. J. McFarland joined the Tibbles, and two days later Carl Smith returned, apparently back in the government's good graces. All four of the *World-Herald* reporters leveled their sights at one of their paper's favorite targets--Agent Royer.

The only evidence of McFarland's presence at Pine Ridge is his signed articles in the *World-Herald*, but he must have been of a mind similar to his Omaha colleagues, because in one of his first stories from the agency he wrote:

> It is rumored that General Miles recommended the removal of Agent Royer from his present station. . . . That such a step is necessary is obvious to everyone at all familiar with the management of the agency during the . . . present troubles.[16]

Both of the Tibbles also had articles published the same day, calling for the replacement of Royer by an army

officer. Three days later, one of the four wrote in an unsigned article:

> There is a battle going on at Pine Ridge and a large sized panic is in possession of the place. But do not get scared. It is not an Indian fight. It is a war of words and the panic is located in the vacuum where Agent Royer's backbone would be if he had one. The agent is on the run, and he is dying awfully hard.[17]

When Royer was finally removed as agent January 7, and Captain E. F. Pierce of the First Infantry Division named as his successor, the departing agent blamed his demise on the "Democratic press," of which the World-Herald was a vivid example. Acknowledging Royer's remarks, the Omaha paper commented editorially, "The World-Herald never did anything of which it was more justly proud."[18]

Edward B. Clark, representing the Chicago Tribune, arrived at Rushville January 6 on the same train with the returning Charles Seymour of the Chicago Herald.[19] Unfortunately, the Tribune did not identify its correspondents, and Clark's arrival brought no discernible change to the "Specials" that had been appearing in the Tribune since November.

The Duluth Tribune announced the arrival of experienced army scout Guy Butler as its man at Pine Ridge on January 8. The Tribune told its readers that Butler had been General Crook's chief of scouts in the war with Geronimo in Arizona, and that his experience would no doubt

be used by the troops in the field as well as provide the newspaper's readers with accurate information in the "bloody campaign" at Pine Ridge. The Tribune concluded, "That the present Indian war will be one of the most severe that this country has ever seen there is little doubt."[20]

About this same time, Edgar Medary, the 24-year old editor of the Hot Springs Herald, arrived at the agency. He had worked periodically for the New York Herald office in Hot Springs, but came to Pine Ridge with no employment in sight. Newsman that he was, Medary looked around and decided that he would like to stay. He approached Burkholder and was hired to report the activities of Brooke's command at White Clay Creek, between the Sioux camp and the Badlands. Burkholder assured Medary $5.00 a day, adding, "and in case of an engagement, you can name your own price, for that would be a hazardous affair." Burkholder also paid for Medary's fitting out, and he was given a pass by Colonel Henry Corbin of Miles's staff.

Medary remained with Brooke until the General reached the Drexel Mission on January 11, at which time the Herald reporter joined his colleagues at Pine Ridge. He was at the agency for several days before his mission as a field correspondent was terminated and he returned to Hot Springs. Although his contribution to the reporting of the disturbance was limited, several of Medary's dispatches from White Clay Creek were used by the Herald.[21]

St. Louis Post-Dispatch reporter Dent Robert arrived at Pine Ridge the same day Red Cloud returned (January 9). For the next 18 days he sent his newspaper daily concise accounts of occurrences at the agency. Although the remaining Sioux began surrendering their arms only five days after Robert arrived, his interviews with principals in the disturbance provided generally accurate background on events at Pine Ridge during the campaign there.

Robert brought a friend from Finland, Mr. K. V. Zilliacus, to Pine Ridge. Although Zilliacus was photographed with the newsmen and made "an honorary correspondent," there is no evidence that he was a working newsman.[22]

The January 10 issue of New York's Illustrated American introduced Warren K. Moorehead as a special correspondent who had been studying the causes of the Indian disturbance "at the seat of the excitement." In a series of thoughtful articles lasting into February, Moorehead, an archeologist and ethnologist by profession, examined the campaign in detail. Although his articles have an obvious pro-Sioux bias and contain minor inaccuracies, they provide valuable background data on the campaign. Moorehead subsequently published a book about the American Indian that contains excerpts from much of his material done while at Pine Ridge. His copy suggests that he was at the agency during most of the campaign, but there is no firm evidence

of Moorehead's arrival date.[23]

George H. Harries arrived at Pine Ridge January 12 representing the _Washington Star_. On the 13th, that newspaper announced:

> Owing to the conflicting character of the reports sent from the scene of the Indian troubles on the Pine Ridge Reservation and the uncertainty of the situation there, the _Star_ has dispatched to the field a special correspondent who is familiar with the ground with a view to obtaining the latest, best, and most reliable accounts of the happenings there.[24]

In his first dispatch, Harries wrote:

> There are a hundred men at Pine Ridge who have studied the Indians for years, but not one of them dares prophesy as to what the morrow may bring forth. A thousand hostiles, and half of them able-bodied bucks, are encamped within range of Captain /W. E./ Dougherty's command, now stationed at the earthworks north of the agency. The more sanguine residents here have hope that there will be no more bloodshed. They can only hope, for they have received no assurance for immediate peace.[25]

But Harries' copy was not always as ominous. His descriptions of events at Pine Ridge before he returned to Washington early in February were generally accurate and provide valuable detail and sidelights of the campaign. On January 26, he spoke of the sale of battlefield souvenirs:

> This condition of affairs was tersely described by Lieutenant Waterman when he said: "If it be possible to carry out of Pine Ridge on a train of ten six-mule wagons all the stuff that was worn by Big Foot and his medicine man when they were killed that morning, then I'm a private in the Marine Corps.

Harries' observation was supported by Burkholder, who wrote:

> The dealers in trinkets are selling all of the Indian goods they can secure, and at prices that are fabulous. . . . Tenderfeet have already purchased . . . at least a carload of ghost shirts that Big Foot was supposed to have had on at the time he was killed.[26]

On January 15, Teresa Dean, correspondent for the *Chicago Herald*, arrived at the agency just in time to see the surrender. She was the second woman reporter, joining Bright Eyes, but the only one from the large eastern dailies. The *Herald* published six articles by Mrs. Dean between January 16 and the end of the month.

The *Herald*'s distaff side was very critical of both Indians and reporters at Pine Ridge, and much of what she wrote was caustic and frequently inaccurate. She was particularly disturbed by the white women working with the Indians at the agency. The news that Pine Ridge school supervisor Elaine Goodale was betrothed to Dr. Eastman brought the following comments:

> Another great mistake is for the white woman to come here to lift and elevate the Indian out of his rut of savagery and to explode her good intentions and bring herself down to his level by marrying him. . . . It is something that cannot occur until the white woman has lost all refinement. . . . Miss Goodale is about 36 years old. The Sioux she's to marry is said to be 28. It is said that instead of showing the Indians how the white people lived, she adopted their costumes and lived for weeks at a time in tepees. However much truth there may be in these statements, it is true that at present she has the manners of the Sioux.[27]

Her accusations were not only inaccurate, but unfair. Miss Goodale was a refined, retiring young lady, and Dr. Eastman was no ordinary Sioux brave. Elaine Goodale Eastman's comments on the Dean story were limited. She wrote:

> I suppose the lady thought she was adding the finishing touches when she gave me an additional nine years (I was 27 at the time) and made my fiance several years my junior--he was nearly six years older.[28]

Mrs. Dean also wrote unkindly of her press colleagues, accusing them of posing as heros of the wild west, and adding that when not rushing around for news they were posing for photographs with their broad-brimmed hats, belts and pistols, knives, and high-topped boots. The latter description can perhaps be better appreciated in light of an incident that occurred shortly after Mrs. Dean's arrival. One of the newsmen suggested that she join them for a planned group photograph of the correspondents. Several others objected, and the newsmen voted, vetoing the lady correspondent's presence in the photograph. As the *World*'s John McDonough explained, he had been writing of the dangers at Pine Ridge, and if his New York friends were to see him in a photo with a woman correspondent, he would be a laughing stock.[29]

The Surrender

The fate of the Sioux had been sealed before most of the newsmen attracted to the agency by the Wounded Knee

encounter arrived at Pine Ridge. Surrounded by a strong cordon of troops early in January, the so-called hostiles were gradually and gently pressed back toward the agency. On January 15, with Brooke close behind them, the thousands of frightened Sioux moved up White Clay Creek three abreast in a procession two miles long and camped under the guns of the large force at Pine Ridge in command of Colonel William R. Shafter. When they reached the agency, their appointed leader, Kicking Bear, approached Miles and laid his rifle at the General's feet in symbol of his people's total defeat. Although Kicking Bear had surrendered to Miles once before--in 1877--there could be no doubt this time that the destiny of the Sioux nation was no longer in the hands of its chiefs.[30]

Thus the so-called Sioux uprising of 1890-1891 was ended. Although it cannot properly be called a war, it resulted in the largest U. S. military operation since the end of the Civil War, and for some of the nation's newspapers had been front page news for almost two months. The entire campaign, from the arrival of Brooke and his troops November 19 until the surrender January 15, lasted only 58 days.

In February, Two Strike summed up the events over the previous three months when he told Secretary of the Interior John Noble, "A whirlwind passed through our country and did much damage. We let that pass."[31]

Perhaps he was a bit late, but in his annual report to Congress in 1891, Commissioner of Indian Affairs Thomas Morgan commented, "If we expect them [the Indians] to be just, then we should set an example. It is true in our dealings with them as it is in the natural world, that whatsoever man soweth, that shall he also reap."[32]

Big Foot and Captain Wallace both would probably have agreed.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER V

[1] Miles to Schofield, January 2, 1891, as cited by Boyd, *op. cit.*, p. 262.

[2] *Omaha Bee*, January 1, 1891, p. 1.

[3] *Omaha Bee*, January 4, 1891, p. 1; *Washington Star*, January 5, 1891, p. 1.

[4] *New York Herald*, January 12, 1891, p. 6.

[5] *Nebraska State Journal*, January 4, 1891, p. 1; *SecWar*, *91*, p. 131; Robinson, *op. cit.*, p. 501.

[6] Utley, *op. cit.*, pp. 244-249.

[7] *Nebraska State Journal*, January 7, 1891, p. 1. Although published January 7, the article was datelined January 5.

[8] *New York Herald*, January 6, 1891, p. 3.

[9] *Omaha Bee*, January 6, 1891, p. 1; *St. Paul Pioneer-Press*, January 5, 1891, p. 1; *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, January 5, 1891, p. 1.

[10] Allen *MS*, Chapter 21; Utley, *op. cit.*, pp. 256-257; Frederic Remington, "Lieutenant Casey's Last Scout," *Harper's Weekly*, 35 (January 31, 1891), pp. 85-91.

[11] *Duluth Tribune*, January 11, 1891, p. 1.

[12] Cook, *op. cit.*, p. 201; Utley, *op. cit.*, pp. 232, 255.

[13] Red Cloud, letter, January 12, 1891, to Thomas Bland, as cited by Bland, *op. cit.*, p. 21; Allen *MS*, Chapter 26.

[14] *New York Herald*, January 9, 1891, p. 3.

[15] *New York World*, January 3, 1891, p. 1. Although the stories from Pine Ridge are unsigned, McDonough has been identified by several sources at Pine Ridge, and is present in several photographs in the Watson Papers. He is also present in photographs in Utley, *op. cit.*, photograph number 21; and in Cook, *op. cit.*, p. 199.

[16] Omaha World-Herald, January 3, 1891, p. 1. The majority of McFarland's work is identified only by the initials W. J. M. or W. J. Mc., but his dispatch published January 15 is signed McFarland. Although he is unmentioned in any other source, and is not included in any of the photographs taken at Pine Ridge, his almost daily dispatches to the World-Herald during the first two weeks in January, many of them dealing with the newspaper's attack on Royer, suggest that he was a regular World-Herald correspondent.

[17] Omaha World-Herald, January 6, 1891, p. 1.

[18] Omaha World-Herald, January 14, 1891, p. 4; New York Herald, January 9, 1891, p. 3; Washington Star, January 8, 1891, p. 6; Omaha Bee, January 9, 1891, p. 1.

[19] Omaha Bee, January 7, 1891, p. 1; E. B. Clark, letter, October 28, 1937, to Elmo Scott Watson, Watson Papers. Clark is also included in photographs in the Watson collection.

[20] Duluth Tribune, January 9, 1891, p. 4.

[21] Medary, op. cit., p. 3; Edgar Medary, letter, December 5, 1943, to Elmo Scott Watson, Watson Papers.

[22] Watson, "Pine Ridge," p. 7; F. A. Behymer, letter, undated, to Elmo Scott Watson, Watson Papers.

[23] Illustrated American, January 10, 1891, p. 259; Moorehead, op. cit.

[24] Washington Star, January 13, 1891, p. 1.

[25] Ibid.

[26] New York World, January 26, 1891, p. 5; New York Herald, January 17, 1891, p. 7.

[27] Chicago Herald, January 27, 1891. Although the Chicago Herald is not available for this period, most of Teresa Dean's material is included in pages from her scrapbook in the Watson Papers. The clippings do not include Herald page numbers.

[28] Elaine Goodale Eastman, letter, August 20, 1943, to Elmo Scott Watson, Watson Papers.

[29] Chicago Herald, January 20, 1891; Watson, "Jingoism," p. 210. There are no photographs of Mrs. Dean in the Watson collection.

[30] SecWar, 91, p. 152; Utley, op. cit., pp. 260-261; Washington Star, January 15, 1891, p. 1; Miles to Schofield, January 15, 1891, as cited by Boyd, op. cit., p. 274.

[31] Statement of Short Bull to Morgan as cited by Bland, op. cit., p. 13.

[32] SecInt, 91, p. 5.

CHAPTER VI

AN APPRAISAL

This study centers on the work of 21 newsmen and women readily identified at Pine Ridge Agency sometime during the winter of 1890-1891. They were from varied backgrounds, varied locations, and with varied experience in frontier life and in journalism. Charles Allen was a skilled frontiersman who was editing his own newspaper when called to work for the New York Herald at Pine Ridge. John McDonough was also an experienced newsman, but there is no indication that he had ever seen an Indian encampment before arriving at Pine Ridge to report for the New York World. William Kelley had virtually no experience as a newsman, or with Indians. Gilbert Bailey and Warren Moorehead were scientists, although Bailey's accounts were among the most accurate and informative to come from the agency.

Their heterogenity should make generalizations about their character and performance suspect, yet such generalizations have been accepted in maligning their contribution to the history of Indian war reporting. Utley says, "Lined up at the counter of James Asay's trading post, they invented lurid accounts of battle,

massacre, and atrocity that delighted folks back home."[1]

There are no easy answers to the questions posed in preparing this study. There is no doubt that some of the copy coming from Pine Ridge that winter was inaccurate, and that each of the correspondents made the most of the threatened Indian troubles at one time or another. But, when one asks whether or not those inaccuracies were intentional, the answer is not as clear. It is obvious in the accusations the reporters made of each other that they were aware of inaccuracies, but as Boylan told his readers, much of his time was spent investigating the dozens of rumors that arrived each day in an effort to keep from creating unnecessary alarm.[2] It is easy to criticize those reporters who wrote that many skulls were crushed during the argument in the Badlands between the followers of Two Strike and those of Short Bull and Kicking Bear. But, perhaps more significantly, many of the reporters did not mention casualties, in spite of the fact that the only sources when the story broke were men who had fled in fear and whose accounts were probably colored accordingly. Those who were in the best position to know what really happened remained with Two Strike and did not return to the agency until almost a week later.[3]

The Government as a News Source

If the correspondents are to be judged in view of what they had reason to suspect would happen rather than on

latter-day accounts of what actually occurred, then there is ample evidence that supposedly credible news sources at the agency were giving the newsmen material upon which to base their sometimes frightening stories. At one time or another, almost everyone at Pine Ridge--both red and white--was convinced that violent Indian war was imminent and inevitable. There was no time during the campaign which lacked established news sources indicating the threat of a general uprising among the Sioux. It should not be surprising that in the course of news gathering, most of the correspondents at one time or another happened across these sources--many of them more than once.

There were also times when official sources who could have calmed the rumors of impending disaster chose to remain silent. Frequently the newsmen circumvented this silence. Cressey wrote of the secret mission of Father Jutz, and when Brooke refused to allow the newsmen to observe his council with the chiefs Jutz brought back with him, the press got the story anyhow. Their account must have sounded credible, because much to the chagrin of Brooke, Miles believed the correspondents.[4]

But even worse than silence, sometimes the government sources were wrong--either intentionally or inadvertently. The army told Bailey that no Indians had been killed in the skirmish with Day's militia at Daly's ranch, while the Indians told him that three had been killed, and

Dr. McGillycuddy reported burying that number.[5]

The agents and Brooke also warned the newsmen more than once that if their behavior was not considered in the best interest of the government they would be sent home, and proved they could do so (temporarily at least) when Carl Smith was forced to leave the agency early in December. Brooke further alienated the press by demanding censorship rights on the wire at Pine Ridge.

If the newsmen are to be blamed for turning to less credible sources, and for speculation--when the government refused to talk, when the information they gave newsmen proved to be inaccurate, or when the pressures of control grew unacceptable--then that blame should be shared with government officials.

Reporting Balance

Those who accuse the Pine Ridge reporters of inaccurate reporting and worse should also credit them with discounting many such reports on numerous occasions. When Gilbert Bailey arrived in Rushville he noted for his readers that as he approached the seat of the trouble the danger was less real than had been apparent in the Chicago papers.[6] Bailey also made a personal inspection of the line of troops from Pine Ridge to Rapid City on December 19 and 20, and concluded that reports of skirmishes between the Sixth Cavalry and the Indians were false.[7]

The newsmen at Pine Ridge were quick to deny rumors that Miles had been killed early in January, and in spite of the frequently alarming stories, there was no time when one or more correspondents were not predicting peaceful settlement.[8]

Although the Pine Ridge reporters' accounts of impending battle--both actual and imagined--are cited frequently in maligning them, much of their work did not deal with the threat of war. Reporters like Tibbles, Bailey, Moorehead, and Harries showed frequent concern for the Sioux, and most of the others also noted that the Indians' lot was an unhappy one. Carl Smith knew that the land the Sioux were given to farm was not arable; Bailey called for justice to the Indians in things both large and small; and Kelley told his readers that the government's policy of keeping the friendly Indians at the agency during the winter months was wrong.[9] The Omaha World-Herald reporters kept up an almost continual hostile barrage against Royer, and most historians have since agreed that Royer deserved the criticism he received.[10]

Outside Influences

An evaluation of the performance of the reporters at Pine Ridge also requires consideration of influences over which the correspondents themselves had little control. Some of the most inflammatory and inaccurate reporting came from sources other than Pine Ridge, yet previous studies

have made no attempt to separate these from the Pine Ridge datelines. For example, there is no evidence that associates the Pine Ridge newsmen and women with the fabricated stories coming from Spring Creek and Rapid City the last two weeks in December. Lurid accounts such as those by Mrs. Finley on the ghost dance were frequent, but cannot be used as valid evidence in judging those reporting from the agency.[11]

Although this study deals only briefly with the influence of the editors on the copy from Pine Ridge, it has been shown that if the correspondents are guilty of scare reporting, the editors must share the blame for the use they made of those accounts and undoubtedly in many instances, of encouraging it. The wide use of Cressey's material is evidence of the editors' desire for "more blood."

Finally, there is the danger of blaming reporters like Allen, Tibbles, Burkholder, and Bailey for the work of men like Cressey. The other correspondents were obviously aware of the nature of Cressey's copy, but they had no control over its use by their editors. Although Cressey was not alone in his penchant for melodramatic accounts, and most of the men and women writers at the agency resorted to similar style at one time or another, it would be unjust to hang Cressey's continual transgressions around the necks of his colleagues.

Contemporary Criticism

The consideration of criticism contemporary with the events at Pine Ridge is a valid tool in evaluating the performance of the newsmen there. However, that criticism must also be evaluated and used accordingly.

Senators Dawes and Pettigrew, Northern Pacific President McNellen, Sioux Doctor Eastman, and the correspondents themselves were among the most outspoken critics of the press coverage of events at the reservation. But there is at least one significant common factor in most of this criticism that opens its validity to question. Most of it came from sources who stood to gain by discrediting all or some of the newsmen.

Dawes had authored the legislation that was supposed to be the solution to the Indian problem. McNellen's Northern Pacific could expect only financial loss from an Indian scare. As a Republican politician, Pettigrew's support of the Harrison administration included support of its Indian policy--one of the prime targets of the newsmen he was trying to debase. Equally significant, the Senator's efforts to encourage immigration to his home state of South Dakota, which entered the Union just one year before the disturbance, would not be enhanced by an Indian scare. Eastman, the agency doctor, was a full-blooded Sioux, and while the newsmen frequently sympathized with the Indians, they seldom flattered them.

The correspondents were in a competitive situation, and it is not surprising that they attempted to discredit their competitors.

Although some of the criticism of the newsmen at Pine Ridge was probably valid, it appears significant that much of it came from sources with an obvious negative bias.

Utley is not the only source that has accused the correspondents of sitting around the agency rather than aggressively seeking the news, but these criticisms cannot cogently be assigned to the reporters collectively.[12] In spite of Brooke's attempts to keep the newsmen at the agency, Bailey left several times--twice visiting Two Strike in his camp when that chief was considered by most to be a principal leader of the hostiles. Bailey was also at Spring Creek on at least one occasion, and joined Allen, Burkholder, Cressey, and the unidentified _Globe-Democrat_ reporter at Wounded Knee December 27. There were three newsmen in the thick of the battle at Wounded Knee. The Tibbles frequently left the agency, and in fact lived in the Indian camp while at Pine Ridge. In his book, Moorehead talks of frequently visiting the Indian camps, and Frederic Remington was with Lieutenant Edward Casey for several weeks just before Casey's death.[13] Medary was in the field with Brooke, and the unidentified _New York World_ reporter was with Carr.

The evidence shows that a collective condemnation

of the Pine Ridge press corps for not actively seeking news is unfounded.

The Verdict

There is a great deal of evidence that some of the reporting from Pine Ridge was inaccurate, but there is little to suggest that the newsmen did nothing but sit around the agency, "inventing lurid accounts of battle, massacre, and atrocity that delighted the folks back home." The environment most certainly influenced their copy, but there are sound indications that they worked to overcome that environment in their effort to get the news. If the accusation is a tendency to accept the sources at hand; an inability to look beyond those sources; an incapacity to rise above the demands of their profession; occasional gullibility; and failure to isolate themselves from the environment at the news source, then they are guilty.

On balance, the Pine Ridge correspondents were, as a group, as sensational as the events which they witnessed; as excited as the officials with whom they associated; and as emotional as the society which they served.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER VI

[1] Utley, *op. cit.*, p. 119.

[2] *St. Paul Pioneer-Press*, December 1, 1890, p. 1.

[3] Chapter III, p. 78.

[4] Chapter III, p. 76.

[5] Chapter III, p. 85.

[6] Chapter III, p. 61.

[7] Chapter III, p. 87.

[8] Chapter V, p. 132.

[9] Chapter I, p. 13; Chapter II, p. 36; Chapter III, p. 94.

[10] Utley, *op. cit.*, p. 103; Watson, "Jingoism," p. 207; Mooney, *op. cit.*, p. 948.

[11] Chapter III, p. 61.

[12] Utley, *op. cit.*, p. 119; Moorehead, *op. cit.*, p. 132.

[13] Moorehead, *op. cit.*; Frederic Remington, "The Sioux Outbreak in South Dakota," *Harper's Weekly*, 35 (January 24, 1891), p. 57.

EPILOGUE

By the third week in January, most of the newsmen who had been assigned to Pine Ridge had returned home. The remaining few left early in February, and Pine Ridge was again a quiet Indian reservation.

The correspondents went their varied ways, some remaining journalists until their deaths, and others finding new professions after their brief sojourn as war correspondents.

Carl Smith left the World-Herald shortly after the Sioux disturbance and joined the Chicago Record, writing the "Fired at Random" column as a replacement for Eugene Fields. In 1898, when only 29 years old, he was drowned with another Record reporter and two guides while on a canoeing vacation in Canada. Their guides had advised against tempting the rain-swollen water, but Smith had insisted.[1]

His work completed in the Dakotas, Charles Seymour returned to the Chicago Herald as night editor, and when his brother Horatio Seymour established the Chicago Chronicle, Charles became that newspaper's managing editor. He held that post until his death May 8, 1901. He had been one of the founders and first president of

Chicago's White Chapel Club, and provided the bloodied ghost shirts and Indian blankets used as decorations in that select club of Chicago newsmen.[2]

The New York Herald's chief correspondent at the agency, Alfred Burkholder, sold his paper at Chamberlain several years after the battle at Wounded Knee and established a successful free-lance news bureau in Sioux Falls, South Dakota. He operated that business for 40 years before his death in the late 1930's.[3]

Thomas Tibbles returned to Omaha and rejoined the World-Herald editorial staff, where he remained until 1893, when he and Bright Eyes moved to Washington, D. C. as correspondents for the Indiana weekly, The Nonconformist. Tibbles reported the Senate, and Bright Eyes the House of Representatives. In 1895, they returned to Nebraska where Tibbles founded The Independent, a weekly that became the national organ for the Populist Party. In 1903, Bright Eyes died, and one year later Tibbles was an unsuccessful candidate for Vice President on the Populist ticket. From 1905 until 1910 he edited another weekly, and in 1910 he rejoined the World-Herald as an editorial and feature writer. He died in Omaha May 14, 1928, still at odds with the government's Indian policies.[4]

Teresa Dean was to become one of the nation's leading lady war correspondents. Before her death at age 75 in 1935, she covered the Pennsylvania coal strikes in

1896, the Spanish-American War, the Boxer Rebellion, the Philippine Insurrection, the Army of Cuba Pacification (1906), and the Mexican Revolution of 1913-1914.[5]

The *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*'s Dent Robert left that newspaper and joined William Randolph Hearst as managing editor of the *San Francisco Examiner*, a post he held until his death June 17, 1917, at Coronado, California.[6]

Edgar Medary, the *New York Herald*'s third reporter at Pine Ridge, remained in the newspaper business in South Dakota and Iowa until his death January 20, 1946, at age 79. He was the last known survivor of the Pine Ridge press corps, and his letters to Watson added important data to the knowledge of the reporters who were in the Dakotas in 1890-1891.[7]

The two scientist-reporters--Gilbert Bailey and Warren Moorehead--returned to their professions as geologist and archeologist. Bailey kept his interest in journalism alive as editor of *Irrigation Age* while head of the department of geology at the University of Southern California. He also authored several books before his death in Los Angeles December 6, 1924.[8]

Moorehead retained his interest in the welfare of the American Indians, and in 1908 was appointed as one of the 12 honorary Indian Commissioners of the Indian Rights Association, a position he held until 1932. He was also director of the department of archeology at Phillips

Academy, Andover, Massachusetts. Moorehead died sometime before 1940.[9]

William Kelley returned to Lincoln from Pine Ridge January 17, and a short while later he abandoned journalism to study law. He became personal secretary to William Jennings Bryant in 1913 when Bryant was Secretary of State. Kelley was serving at the United States Counsulate in Rome when he died in March 1916.[10]

Charles Allen remained a frontiersman as long as he lived. Following the Sioux disturbance, he sold his newspaper at Chadron and became postmaster at Pine Ridge. He married an Oglala woman and they had several children. Allen's keen observation and credible accounts of events at Pine Ridge provide a great deal of excellent detail on events at the agency in 1890-1891.[11] He died in 1942 in a soldiers' home where he spent his winters during his last years.

George Harries returned to Washington and the Star. The following year he was named by President Harrison as one of a three-man commission to investigate certain claims of the Pine Ridge and Rosebud Sioux, and returned to the Dakotas for several months in that capacity. In 1898, he helped recruit a Washington volunteer unit and became a colonel in the First (D. C.) Infantry Volunteers. He served with that unit at Santiago and during the Cuban Army of Occupation, and was later promoted to Brigadier General.

He served throughout World War I and was Chief of the U. S. military mission in Berlin until September 1919. Harries died in May 1925, in Washington.[12]

Although Frederic Remington is best known as an artist, he also continued as a reporter following Wounded Knee. He was with the troops at San Juan Hill in the Spanish-American War, writing (and illustrating) for both Harper's Weekly and Hearst's New York Journal and newspaper syndicate. His frontier drawings are accepted today as among the most authentic remaining glimpses of the western frontier. Remington died during an appendicitis attack on December 26, 1909, at age 48.[13]

The possible fate of the Omaha Bee's Cressey was described by one of his fellow correspondents, the Chicago Tribune's Edward Clark. Clark wrote to Watson in 1937, "You may just keep this to yourself, but I think he /Cressey/ had a checkered career afterward."[14] Unfortunately, there is no further information on Pine Ridge's most published correspondent.

The man who may have been Cressey's colleague, Charles H. Copenharve, died in Los Angeles October 8, 1918.[15]

Edward Clark also continued in the newspaper business in Chicago and New York, and was a successful feature columnist when he died about 1940.[16]

Five of those who were at Pine Ridge apparently

left no trail from the agency, for no data were found on the subsequent lives of the *St. Paul Pioneer-Press*'s R. J. Boylan, Jr.; Guy Butler of the *Duluth Tribune*; The Associated Press's E. A. O'Brian; the *New York World*'s John McDonough; or W. J. McFarland of the *Omaha World-Herald*.

The illusive "Albert" of the *Globe-Democrat*; "Judge" Burns, who may have written for the *Chicago Times*; and Irving Hawkins, said by Watson to have represented the *Chicago Tribune*; have also escaped historians if they were indeed correspondents at Pine Ridge in 1890-1891.

And, finally, what of the Oglalas at Pine Ridge?

Following their surrender to Miles, the Indians returned to their cabins and tepees where they remain today largely forgotten by the outside world. The Bureau of Indian Affairs began its annual report for 1961:

> A "new trail" for Indians, leading to equal citizenship rights and benefits, maximum self-sufficiency, and full participation in American life became the keynote for administration of the program of the Bureau of Indian Affairs of the Department of the Interior shortly after the close of the fiscal year.[17]

But, in spite of the Bureau of Indian Affairs' "new trail" nine years ago, it would probably not surprise Red Cloud and the other old chiefs to know that in 1968 less than 1,000 of the 14,000 Oglalas had full-time jobs; or that today a white child has a better chance of living

until age 45 than an Indian baby has of living until its first birthday.[18] They would probably be much less startled than most white citizens to learn that the present average 5th grade education level of the Indians was reached by the average American in 1900,[19] or that nine out of ten of their people at Pine Ridge have no electricity in their homes, and 19 out of 20 no running water.[20]

If Short Bull were alive, it would all probably sound familiar to him, but he was killed by an automobile at Pine Ridge many years ago.[21]

FOOTNOTES TO EPILOGUE

[1] Chicago Record, September 9, 1898. Most of the newspaper sources used in the Epilogue are from the Watson Papers, and page numbers are not known.

[2] Watson, "Jingoism," p. 209; Chicago Daily News, July 27, 1936.

[3] York Sampson, letter, July 9, 1941, to Elmo Scott Watson, Watson Papers.

[4] Tibbles, op. cit., pp. 8-9; A. N. Marquis (ed.), Who's Who in America, 1910-1911 (Chicago: A. N. Marquis and Company, 1911), p. 113.

[5] Washington Post, January 9, 1935; Appleton (Wisconsin) Post-Crescent, January 12, 1935; Warren Dean, letters, November 20, 1940, to Miss Francis Ross-Shannon, and January 2, 1942, to Mr. Carlin Treat, Watson Papers.

[6] Mrs. Dent Robert, letter, May 13, 1946, to Elmo Scott Watson, Watson Papers; Edgar Medary, letter, February 9, 1943, to Elmo Scott Watson, Watson Papers.

[7] Edgar Medary, letters, February 9, 1943, and May 25, 1944, to Elmo Scott Watson, Watson Papers; unidentified press clip, Watson Papers; Watson, "Jingoism," p. 209.

[8] Watson, "Jingoism," p. 210; Watson, "Pine Ridge," p. 10; A. N. Marquis, Who Was Who in America, 1897-1942 (Chicago: A. N. Marquis and Company, 1942), p. 236.

[9] Allen MS, Chapter 21; Watson, "Jingoism," p. 209.

[10] Nebraska State Journal, March 17, 1948; Mrs. W. F. Kelley, letter, June 16, 1941, to Elmo Scott Watson, Watson Papers.

[11] Addison E. Sheldon, Allen MS, foreword.

[12] Julia S. Watson, "A Sketch of George H. Harries, Reporter of Wounded Knee," The Westerners Brand Book, 3 (1956), p. 90; United States Congress (Senate), Report of Commission to Adjust Affairs Between Rosebud and Pine Ridge Indians, Document 58, 52nd Congress, 1st Session (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1892), pp. 1-22.

[13] Dumas Malone (ed.), *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1935), XV, p. 469; Harold McCracken, *Frederic Remington, Artist of the Old West* (New York: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1947), p. 97.

[14] Edward Clark, letter, November 24, 1937, to Elmo Scott Watson, Watson Papers.

[15] Mrs. I. J. Copenharve, letter, February 22, 1945, to Elmo Scott Watson, Watson Papers.

[16] *Publisher's Auxiliary*, October 11, 1941.

[17] Commissioner of Indian Affairs, "Report of the Bureau of Indian Affairs," *Annual Report of the Department of the Interior, 1961* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1961), p. 277.

[18] William Brandon, "American Indians: The Alien Americans," *The Progressive*, 33 (December 1969), p. 14.

[19] William Brandon, "The American Indians: The Un-Americans," *The Progressive*, 34 (January 1970), p. 37; Edwin Emery, *The Press and America* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1962), p. 352.

[20] "The Oglala Sioux, Pine Ridge Reservation, South Dakota," (Pine Ridge: Superintendent, Pine Ridge Indian Reservation, January 16, 1969), p. 2 (mimeographed).

[21] Mrs. John Brennan, letter, October 21, 1941, to Elmo Scott Watson, Watson Papers.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books

Allred, B. W., and others. *Great Western Indian Fights*. In Double D Western American Series. Garden City: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1960.

Bailey, Paul. *Wovoka, The Indian Messiah*. Los Angeles: Westernlore Press, 1957.

Black Elk, Ben. *Black Elk Speaks*. New York: W. Morrow and Company, 1932.

Bland, Thomas A. (ed.). *A Brief History of the Military Invasion of the Home of the Sioux*. Washington: National Indian Defense Association, 1891.

Bleyer, Willard G. *Main Currents in the History of American Journalism*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1927.

Boyd, James P. *Recent Indian Wars*. Philadelphia: Publisher's Union, 1892.

Cook, James H. *Fifty Years on the Old Frontier*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1957.

DeLand, Charles E. *The Sioux Wars*. Pierre, South Dakota: South Dakota Historical Society, 1934.

Eastman, Charles A. *From Deep Woods to Civilization*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1917.

Ellis, E. S. *Indian Wars of the United States*. New York: Cassell Publishing Company, 1892.

Emery, Edwin. *The Press and America*. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1962.

Finerty, John F. *War Path and Bivouac*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961.

Gramling, Oliver. *AP, The Story of News*. New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1940.

Hyde, George. *A Sioux Chronicle*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1956.

Johnston, Mary. *Federal Relations with the Great Sioux Indians of South Dakota, 1887-1933*. Washington: Catholic University of American Press, 1948.

Knight, Oliver. *Following the Indian Wars*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1960.

McCracken, Harold. *Frederic Remington, Artist of the Old West*. New York: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1947.

McGregor, James H. *The Wounded Knee Massacre From the Viewpoint of the Sioux*. Minneapolis: Lund Press, 1940.

McLaughlin, James. *My Friend the Indian*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1910.

Malone, Dumas (ed.). *Dictionary of American Biography*. Vol. XV. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1935.

Marquis, Albert Nelson (ed.). *Who's Who in America, 1901-1902*. Vol. II. Chicago: A. N. Marquis and Company, 1902.

________. *Who's Who in America, 1910-1911*. Vol. VI. Chicago: A. N. Marquis and Company, 1911.

________. *Who's Who in America, 1924-1925*. Vol. XIII. Chicago: A. N. Marquis and Company, 1925.

________. *Who Was Who in America, 1897-1942*. Chicago: A. N. Marquis and Company, 1942.

Miles, Nelson A. *Personal Recollections and Observations of General Nelson A. Miles*. New York: DaCapo Press, 1969.

Moorehead, Warren K. *The American Indian in the United States, 1850-1914*. Andover, Massachusetts: Andover Press, 1914.

Mott, Frank Luther. *American Journalism*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1962.

Neihardt, John G. *Song of the Messiah: A Cycle of the West*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1949.

Robinson, Doane. *A History of the Dakota or Sioux Indians*. Minneapolis: Ross and Haines, Inc., 1956.

Rosewater, Victor. *History of Cooperative News-Gathering in the United States*. New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1930.

Sandoz, Mari. *Old Jules*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1935.

Schmitt, Martin F. *General George Crook, His Autobiography*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1946.

Spindler, Will H. *Tragedy Strikes at Wounded Knee*. Gordon, Nebraska: Gordon Journal Publishing Company, 1955.

Taunton, Francis B. (ed.). *Sidelights of the Sioux Wars*. London: English Westerners Society, 1967.

Tibbles, Thomas Henry. *Buckskin and Blanket Days*. Garden City: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1957.

Utley, Robert. *The Last Days of the Sioux Nation*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963.

Vestal, Stanley. *New Sources of Indian History (1850-1891)*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1934.

________. *Sitting Bull, Champion of the Sioux*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1932.

Watson, Elmo Scott. *A History of Newspaper Syndicates in the United States, 1865-1935*. Chicago: Publisher unknown, 1936.

Wilcox, Virginia Lee. *Comprehensive Index to Westerners Brand Books 1944-1961*. Second edition. Denver: The Denver Posse of the Westerners, 1962.

Publications of the Government, Learned Societies, and Other Organizations

Barrows, Isabel C. *Proceedings of the Ninth Annual Meeting of the Lake Mohonk Conference of the Friends of the Indian, 1890*. Lake Mohonk, New York: Lake Mohonk Conference, 1890.

________. *Proceedings of the Tenth Annual Meeting of the Lake Mohonk Conference of the Friends of the Indian, 1891*. Lake Mohonk, New York: Lake Mohonk Conference, 1891.

Board of Indian Commissioners. *Twenty-First Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners*. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1890.

________. *Twenty-Second Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners*. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1891.

________. *Twenty-Third Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners*. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1892.

Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Department of the Interior. *U. S. Indian Population (1962) and Land (1963)*. Washington: Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1963.

________. "Report of Bureau of Indian Affairs." *Annual Report, Department of the Interior, 1961*. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1961.

Department of the Interior, Census Office. *Report on Indians Taxed and Not Taxed in the United States at the Eleventh Census: 1890*. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1894.

Dorsey, J. O. "A Study of Siouan Cults." *Eleventh Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1889-1889*. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1894.

Indian Rights Association. *The Eighth Annual Report of the Executive Committee of the Indian Rights Association*. Philadelphia: Office of the Indian Rights Association, 1891.

________. *The Ninth Annual Report of the Executive Committee of the Indian Rights Association*. Philadelphia: Office of the Indian Rights Association, 1892.

Kappler, Charles. *Laws and Treaties*. 2 vols. (2nd edition) Senate Document #319, Indian Affairs, 58th Congress, 2nd Session, 1904. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904.

Mooney, James. "The Ghost Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890." *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Part II, 1892-1893*. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1896.

Richardson, James D. A Compilation of Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789-1897. 9 vols. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1898.

"The Oglala Sioux, Pine Ridge Indian Reservation, South Dakota." Pine Ridge: Superintendent, Pine Ridge Indian Reservation, 1969. Mimeographed.

United States Congress (H. R.). Additional Provisions For The Sioux Indians. Executive Document 36, 51st Congress, 2nd Session. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1891.

________. Affairs of Pine Ridge Agency, 1892. Executive Document 58, 52nd Congress, 1st Session. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1891.

________. Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 1889. Executive Document #1, 51st Congress, 1st Session, 1889. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1889.

________. Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 1890. Executive Document #2, 51st Congress, 2nd Session, 1890. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1890.

________. Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 1891. Executive Document #1, 52nd Congress, 1st Session, 1891. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1891.

________. Report of the Secretary of War, 1889. Executive Document #1, 51st Congress, 1st Session, 1889. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1889.

________. Report of the Secretary of War, 1890. Executive Document #1, 51st Congress, 2nd Session, 1890. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1890.

________. Report of the Secretary of War, 1891. Executive Document #1, 52nd Congress, 1st Session, 1891. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1891.

United States Congress (Senate). Armament of Certain Indians. Executive Document #9, 52nd Congress, 2nd Session. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1891.

________. Arms in Possession of Indians, 1891. Executive Document #2, 52nd Congress, 2nd Session. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1891.

United States Congress (Senate). *Report of Commission To Adjust Affairs Between Rosebud and Pine Ridge Indians*. Executive Document #58, 52nd Congress, 2nd Session. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1892.

________. *Sioux Indians; Relative to the Disposition of Moneys Appropriated for the Benefit of Certain Sioux*. Executive Document #143, 52nd Congress, 1st Session. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1892.

United States Statutes at Large. Vol. XXIV, 1887. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1887.

War Department. *Compilation of General Orders, Circulars and Bulletins of the War Department 1881-1915*. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1918.

Periodicals

Arnold, Frazer. "Ghost Dance and Wounded Knee," *Cavalry Journal*, XLIII (1934), 18-20.

Brandon, William. "American Indians: The Real American Revolution," *The Progressive*, XXXIV (February 1970), 26-30.

________. "The American Indians: The Un-Americans," *The Progressive*, XXXIV (January 1970), 35-39.

________. "American Indians: The Alien Americans," *The Progressive*, XXXIII (December 1969), 13-17.

"Captain G. D. Wallace," *Harper's Weekly*, XXXV (January 17, 1891), 41-42.

Colby, L. W. "The Sioux War of 1890-1891," *Transactions and Reports of the Nebraska State Historical Society*, III (1892), 144-190.

Eastman, Elaine Goodale. "The Ghost Dance War and Wounded Knee Massacre of 1890-1891," *Nebraska History*, XXVI (January 1945), 26-42.

Forsyth, G. A. "A Frontier Fight," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, XCI (June 1895), 541-545.

Gresham, John C. "The Story of Wounded Knee," *Harper's Weekly*, XXXV (February 7, 1891), 106-107.

Henry, Guy V. "A Sioux Indian Episode," *Harper's Weekly*, XL (December 26, 1896), 1273-1275.

Huntington, Channing M. "Ethics of Journalism," *Social Economist*, V (September 1893), 163-170.

"Indian Truth and Eloquence," *Harper's Weekly*, XXXV (February 21, 1891), 131-132.

Kelley, W. F. "The Indian Troubles and the Battle of Wounded Knee," *Transactions and Reports of the Nebraska State Historical Society*, IV (1892), 30-50.

Maus, Marion P. "The New Indian Messiah," *Harper's Weekly*, XXXIV (December 1890), 944-947.

Medary, Edgar F. "A Retrospect," *Publisher's Auxiliary* (May 29, 1943; June 5, 1943).

Miles, Nelson A. "The War With the Messiah," *Cosmopolitan*, LI (September 1911), 522-523.

________. "Future of the Indian Question," *North American Review*, CLII (January 1891), 1-10.

Mooney, James. "The Indian Ghost Dance," *Collections of the Nebraska State Historical Society*, XVI (1911), 168-186.

Moorehead, Warren K. "The Indian Messiah and the Ghost Dance," *American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal*, XII (1891), 161-167.

Nelson, Harold L. and L. John Martin. "The Historical Standard in Analyzing Press Performance," *Journalism Quarterly*, XXXIII (Fall 1956), 450-451.

Parker, Z. A. "Ghost Dance at Pine Ridge," *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, IV (1891), 160-162.

Phillips, Evelyn M. "The New Journalism," *New Review*, XIII (August 1895), 182-189.

Remington, Frederic. "Lieutenant Casey's Last Scout," *Harper's Weekly*, XXXV (January 31, 1891), 85-91.

________. "The Art of War and Newspapermen," *Harper's Weekly*, XXXIV (December 6, 1890), 947.

________. "The Sioux Outbreak in South Dakota," *Harper's Weekly*, XXXV (January 24, 1891), 57-62.

Rockefeller, Alfred, Jr. "Ghost Dance Troubles," *The Westerners Brand Book*, Denver Posse, V (September 1948), 103-106.

Seymour, Charles G. "The Sioux Rebellion, The Final Review," *Harper's Weekly*, XXXV (February 7, 1891), 106.

Sheldon, Addison E. "Mayor Charles W. Allen of Chadron," *Nebraska History*, XXII (January 1941), 76-77.

Sword, George. "The Story of the Ghost Dance," *Folk-Lorist*, I (July 1892), 28-31.

Watson, Elmo Scott. "A Checklist of Indian War Correspondents," *Journalism Quarterly*, XVII (December 1940), 307-308.

________. "Pine Ridge, 1890-1891," *The Westerners Brand Book*, Denver Posse, XVII (1946), 3-4.

________. "Short Bull, The Brigand of the Badlands," *Publisher's Auxiliary* (January 31, 1942; February 7, 1942).

________. "The Last Indian War, 1890-1891; A Study of Newspaper Jingoism," *Journalism Quarterly*, XX (September 1943), 205-219.

________. "The Indian Wars and the Press," *Journalism Quarterly*, XVII (December 1940), 304-307.

Watson, Julia S. "A Sketch of George H. Harries, Reporter of Wounded Knee," *The Westerners Brand Book*, New York Posse, III (1956), 73-76.

Personal Papers and Unpublished Manuscripts

Allen, C. W. "In The West That Was." Unpublished manuscript, Elmo Scott Watson Papers, *Edward A. Ayer Collection*, The Newberry Library, Chicago.

McCormick, L. S. Unpublished manuscript, *E. S. Luce Seventh Cavalry Collection*, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. (Partial copy contained in Elmo Scott Watson Papers, *Edward A. Ayer Collection*, The Newberry Library, Chicago.)

Watson, Elmo Scott, Personal Papers. *Edward A. Ayer Collection*. The Newberry Library, Chicago, Illinois.

Newspapers

Appleton (Wisconsin) *Post-Crescent*, January 12, 1935.

Chicago Daily Tribune, November 1890-January 1891.

Chicago Inter-Ocean, November 1890-January 1891.

Chicago Record, September 9, 1898.

Chicago Times, November 1890-January 1891.

Duluth Tribune, November 1890-January 1891.

Hot Springs (South Dakota) *Herald*, December 30, 1890.

Illustrated American, December 1890-January 1891.

Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, June 27, 1891.

Nebraska State Journal, November 1890-January 1891.

New York Herald, November 1890-January 1891.

New York World, November 1890-January 1891.

Omaha Bee, November 1890-January 1891.

Omaha World-Herald, November 1890-January 1891.

Philadelphia Public Ledger, December 1890-January 1891.

St. Louis Globe-Democrat, November 1890-January 1891.

St. Louis Post Dispatch, November 1890-January 1891.

St. Paul Pioneer Press, November 1890-January 1891.

Washington Star, November 1890-February 1891.

Thesis
K755

117790

Kolbenschlag
Newspaper correspondents and the Sioux Indian disturbances of 1890-1891.

Thesis
K755 Kolbenschlag
Newspaper correspondents and the Sioux Indian disturbances of 1890-1891.

thesK755
Newspaper correspondents and the Sioux I
3 2768 001 03056 2
DUDLEY KNOX LIBRARY